DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 473 445 SO 034 596

TITLE	Cesar Chavez--Grade Ten Model Curriculum and Resources.
INSTITUTION	California State Dept. of Education, Sacramento.
PUB DATE	2002-00-00
NOTE	136p.; For additional California Model Curricula on Cesar Chavez, see SO 034 586-598.
AVAILABLE FROM	California Department of Education, P.O. Box 944272, Sacramento, CA 94244-2720. Tel: 916-319-0791. For full text: http://chavez.scientech.com/ Teachers/Lessons_10-12.htm#Grade10.
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Standards; *Change Agents; Classroom Techniques; *Community Leaders; Cultural Context; Democracy; Geography; Grade 10; High Schools; Models; Service Learning; Social Change; *Social Studies; State Standards; *Unions; *World History
IDENTIFIERS	California; *Chavez (Cesar); Industrial Revolution; *Mandela (Nelson); Nonviolence

ABSTRACT

In this California state curriculum model for grade 10, "World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World," students stud the life, work, and philosophy of Cesar E. Chavez. The students learn about the historical developments of many of the ideas and philosophy of Chavez, particularly the evolution of democratic principles. Students discover Chavez's commitment to social change through nonviolent tactics that were modeled after Mahatma Gandhi. The curriculum presents a history/social science framework; addresses history/social science state standards; sets a context; poses focus questions; cites expected learning outcomes; discusses assessment; lists key concepts; suggests an essential vocabulary, primary sources, and visuals; and provides a detailed step-by-step procedure for implementing each of the three lessons. Lessons are: (1) "The Industrial Revolution and the Formation of Unions"; (2) "Fasting and Politics"; and (3) "Nelson Mandela and Cesar E. Chavez and Nonviolence." A biography for the development of Cesar Chavez curriculum for public schools, grades K-12, "Burning with a Patient Fire: The Legacy of Cesar Estrada Chavez" (Richard Griswold del Castillo) is attached (includes 44 notes). Appended are Nelson Mandela's presidential address to the African National Congress (Transvaal) and a document presented by Nelson Mandela to P. W. Botha before their meeting on July 5, 1989. (BT)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 473 445

California Department of Education

César Chavéz

Grade Ten Model Curriculum and Resources

California Department of Education
P.O. Box 944272
Sacramento, CA 94244-2720
Telephone: 916-319-0791

http://chavez.scientech.com/Teachers/Lessons_10-12.htm#Grade10

2002

SO 034 596

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE, AND IN ELECTRONIC MEDIA FOR ERIC COLLECTION SUBSCRIBERS ONLY, HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

C. Robinson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2A

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

César E. Chávez Model Curriculum

Grade Ten: World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World

Students in grade ten studying the life, work, and philosophy of César E. Chávez will learn about the historical developments of many of the ideas and philosophy of Chávez, especially the evolution of democratic principles. Students will also learn about Chávez's commitment to social change through nonviolent tactics modeled after Gandhi.

Grade Ten: History-Social Science Framework

Students in grade ten will complete their study of world history focusing on modern history and on the unresolved problems of the modern world. Students will review the rise of the democratic ideal of equality, justice under the law, and freedom. During the industrial revolution, students will examine the causes of the development of labor unions. They will examine rise of imperialism and colonialism using India as a case study, and the important roles of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Louis Mountbatten in preparing India for self-government. *(Pp. 120-130)*

Grade Ten: History-Social Science Standards

Standard 10.2 Students compare and contrast the Glorious Revolution of England, the American Revolution, and the French Revolution, and their enduring effects worldwide on the political expectations for self-government and individual liberty.
10.2.2 List the principles of the Magna Carta, the English Bill of Rights (1689), the American Declaration of Independence (1776), the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789), and the U.S. Bill of Rights (1791).

Lesson 1 **The Industrial Revolution and the Formation of Unions**

Students will identify the reasons why unions are formed and specifically why the UFW was formed. Students will apply these reasons to a variety of working situations in their area. Students will compare and contrast why unions started during the industrial revolution and why César E. Chávez started the UFW.

Lesson 2 **Fasting and Politics**

Students will identify the term Satyagraha and explain how Gandhi used it. Compare and contrast Gandhi's reasons and use of fasting with Chávez's. Students will evaluate the effectiveness of using the fast to gain political awareness.

Lesson 3 **Nelson Mandela and César E. Chávez and Nonviolence**

Students will trace the history of the ANC and compare it with the history of the UFW. Students will compare and contrast the attitudes of César E. Chávez and Nelson Mandela toward violence and civil rights. After comparing and contrasting these attitudes, students will evaluate the effectiveness of both methods.

Lesson Title:
The Industrial Revolution and the Formation of Unions

Grade Level: Grade Ten Lesson 1

Unit of Study: Industrial Revolution

History-Social Science Standard:

10.3 Students analyze the effects of the Industrial Revolution in England, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States

10.3.4 4 Trace the evolution of work and labor, including the demise of the slave trade and the effects of immigration, mining and manufacturing, division of labor, and the union movement.

Setting the Context:

The Industrial Revolution in Europe during the nineteenth century had a profound effect on all aspects of life. The move from a cottage system to a machine-driven industry affected the workingman and his family in all aspects of life.

Family units often worked the factories. Women and children were used for the most demanding jobs in the workplace. Many drug coal cars in the coal mines of England. Fathers, in the meantime, would use picks and shovels to get at the coal. In the textile factories, children worked for their parents at such jobs as picking up waste and fixing the most dangerous parts of machinery.

These working conditions, coupled with very low wages, pushed workers to unite. Groups in Great Britain formed worker associations that represented the interests of the workers in various industries. The associations eventually turned into labor unions. These unions, however, ran into serious problems in the beginning. In both France (1791) and Britain (1799 and 1800), laws were passed to ban unions. It would not be until much later that the idea of unions would be recognized.

Focus Questions:

What were the working conditions like during the Industrial Revolution?

How do people handle bad working and living conditions?

Have workers in California and the United States experienced these bad working conditions? What did they do?

What are some of the conditions farm workers endure?

Expected Learning Outcomes:

Students will identify the reasons why unions are formed and specifically why the UFW was formed. Students will apply these reasons to a variety of working situations in their area.
Students will compare and contrast why unions started during the Industrial Revolution and why César E. Chávez started the UFW.

Assessment:

Students, using a T-chart will list the reasons why unions are formed and why the UFW was formed. Students will make a class presentation on jobs in the workplace that have the potential of unionizing. Students will write an essay comparing and contrasting

Key Concepts:

unions
industrial revolution

Essential Vocabulary:

union
collective bargaining
strike
Le Chapelier Law
Combination Act

Primary Sources:

- *History of the Farm Worker Movement*, Fred Ross Sr. at Dayton, Ohio. October 1974, Part I Background – attached and at: http://clnet.ucr.edu/research/chavez/themes/ufw/history1.html
- Address by César E. Chávez, The Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, November 9, 1984 – attached and can be downloaded at: http://chavez.scientech.com/teachers/Lessons/resources/documents/Commonwealth_Club_SanFrancisco_11-9-84.pdf

Visuals:

- Pictures of women and girls in coal mines during the Industrial Revolution – have students search the web
- Pictures of housing in migrant farm worker camps – some photographs are attached. These photographs can be found at in the pictures section of the web site http://chavez.scientech.com:8080/research Look in the housing folder
- Picture of farm workers in the fields - camps – some photographs are attached. These photographs can be found at in the pictures section of the web site

http://chavez.scientech.com:8080/research Look in the workers in the field folder

Procedure

Motivation:

Tell the students that they will receive a certain number of bonus points if they can complete cutting out a given number of letters in 10 minutes. If they do not accomplish it, they will be penalized and will receive a 0 for the day. Have students cut out letters from construction paper to very specific standards. These letters must be perfect. Give them 10 minutes to complete a virtually impossible number to complete. Only one or two people, of your choosing, should receive the points.

*Teacher's Note: Ensure that, at the end of the lesson, the students understand this was only a ploy to make them feel the part of the worker.

Making Connections:

Unions are now an integral part of the business world. However, it was not that long ago that there were few unions in the United States. One of the sectors not represented by unions for many years was the farm worker. Farm workers were the only group excluded from the *National Labor Relations Act*, giving workers the right to organize and collectively bargain. Therefore previous attempts to formulate a farm workers union failed. In 1962 when César E. Chávez established the first successful union in farm labor, history people were amazed.

Vocabulary Activities:

Create a vocabulary journal of the new words and concepts as the lesson develops. The class should discuss the terms and concepts at the end to make sure that the correct meanings are realized.

Guided Instruction:

1) Do the Motivation activity above.

2) Ask the students how they felt about the letter cutting exercise and have them write it down.

3) Students should have read the appropriate material from their textbook on the Industrial Revolution and the teacher has provided additional information from the Setting the Context.

4) Have the students look at the pictures and discuss what they see. After completing the discussion, give the students the two primary documents from the primary

source above.

5) Using a T-chart, have the students identify and list the reasons unions were formed during the Industrial Revolution and why the UFW was formed.

6) HOMEWORK: Have the students look around in their own area or nationally in areas where there is the potential to unionize. Report back to the class with at least one visual aide (e.g., poster, workers hat) on their findings.

7) Students will write an essay comparing why unions were formed in the Industrial Revolution and why the UFW was formed.

Enrichment:

1) Students can gain more understanding of the formation of the UFW by reading the attached high school biography of César E. Chávez. It can also be found on the CDE Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com/Teachers/Lessons/Resources/Biographies/High_School_Biography.htm.

2) Formulate a panel discussion with those who might be opposed to unions forming. What are their reasons to oppose?

3) Research the *Factory Act of 1833* and others that helped European workers in the nineteenth century.

Integrating Language:

1) Pre-reading skills will activate prior knowledge through classroom discussion. Active discussion will be used in reviewing the primary source documents.

2) Speaking and listening skills will also be used when students share their findings on potential unionization with the class.

3) Writing skills will enhance through comparison essay that makes historical connections.

Service Learning:

Identify the Problem
Many people in the community do not know the history of the UFW or traditional unions.

Develop a Plan
Brainstorm the best way to help people learn the history of these unions. You will want to research the history of unions in your area as well as the UFW. If there are no unions in your area, you may want to research why there are none.

Initiate Action

Follow through with developing the history in the format of your choosing. Present the end product to the unions, business organizations, and to area libraries.

Reflection

Students will review their product and, if possible, have professionals in the particular media area also review their material. They will then write a short narrative piece on their feelings about what they found and what they did not find.

HISTORY OF THE FARM WORKER MOVEMENT

(As told by Fred Ross, Sr.,
Dayton, Ohio, October, 1974)

PART I BACKGROUND

The early groups of immigrants were enticed by the big growers to come to California. As soon as each group began to organize to improve conditions in the fields, their strikes were crushed by the growers and cops, and they were replaced by other groups.

The Japanese were among the earliest to be treated this way. They began to work in the sugar beets, and they were very independent. Soon they began to organize, and not only that, they began to buy land. They were great farmers, as we know. The growers had two reasons for getting rid of them. First, they were making demands; and, second, they were buying land and the growers feared the competition. Eventually, the Japanese got control of a large portion of the vegetable market, even though they only had a small percentage of the land.

Next the growers enticed the Mexicans to come; the great majority cam during WWI and thereafter. They organized, and had a very strong trade union among farmworkers in the early days, originally located down in the Imperial Valley. It was a strong union until collusion between the growers and cops, etc., broke it and deported many of it leaders.

During the depression the Mexicans started applying for relief like a third of the nation was doing, and were told, "Yes, you can have relief, provided you go back to Mexico right away." Both aliens and citizens were shipped back.

Just about the same time as we began to force the Mexicans to return to Mexico during the Depression, the growers started enticing Filipinos. The Filipinos, in some ways, were the most pathetic. When they were enticed to come, they were told that within 4 or 5 years of coming over here they would go home rich men. So, only 5 percent were permitted to bring their wives. That was part of the deal - 95 percent had to come as single men; we would not take them otherwise.

The Japanese had pulled a fast one. When the alien land law was passed preventing the Japanese from buying sub-marginal land and competing with the growers, the Japanese transferred this land, in many cases, to their citizen sons and daughters. The law applied only to aliens.

So, to prevent the Filipinos from doing the same thing, our government refused to permit them to bring their wives or family. We also fixed them with the anti-miscegenation law, which prohibited them from marrying anyone except other Oriental.

So, for the most part, Filipinos couldn't marry at all, as there were not many available Chinese or Japanese women. When a Filipino even looked at another woman, he was run

out of town, beaten up, and, in many cases, killed, for he was "mixing the blood." Race riots began over this one issue.

This was from 1927 through the Depression. The anti-miscenegenation law lasted until 1946, until the end of the war when the Filipinos were our allies.

The result of this is that there are many old, single Filipino men today without families, without income, without a home, etc. They are alone & too old to work. This is the reason for Agbayani Village just completed in Delano for retired Filipino men. You should use the case of the Filipinos when you want to paint a bad picture.

Arabs were probably brought to this country during the strike of 1965.

On the outline we tried to show the power breakdown with relation to the ranch itself, where the grower was all powerful, because of being able to have complete control over the labor market; and how, in the rural community, the grower was all-powerful, because he is the one who has all the money that controlled all the elections, all the politicians and all the judges and police.

But the farm workers for the most part were not citizens and therefore couldn't vote. Without the vote, they didn't have the voice to counteract the power of the grower in the community. So they were caught in a double bind. If there was anything the grower couldn't do to the workers on the ranch, then he could do it to them in the community, or vice-versa. He had total power. The concept of "ranch nation" is simply that a ranch is like a small country in terms of the way it is operated. The grower is king, with absolute power, and has his own private army of people who enforce dictates - supervisors, foremen. Those who step out of line get capital punishment - fired and evicted from housing.

THE PIXLEY COTTON STRIKE occurred during the valley wide cotton strike of 1933. It was the largest single strike that ever occurred in California. It didn't take place all at once, but it kept moving up the state by sections. (The lettuce strike of 1970 is the largest strike that ever took place all at once, but the cotton strike is the largest one that took place over a long period.)

On this day in Pixley (20 miles north of Delano, California) in 1933, the workers were having a meeting in their union hall, which was right across the street from the police station. Inside the police station were some policemen who had just arrested about 19 farm workers, both Chicano and Oklahoman.

All of a sudden 12 growers converged on the union hall in their pickups. They got out of their pickups with their guns and leaned their guns on the fenders of their trucks and fired into the union hall. Naturally, the workers came rushing out, and as they came out the growers just stood there and picked them off like rabbits.

They killed two people right then and there and wounded many more. Another Chicano was killed that same day in Arvin by the growers. This is one of the ways they thought they would break the strike. This was all done in full view of the police across the street and in full view of those 19 farm workers who had just been arrested.

The growers were taken to court and were acquitted because of insufficient evidence.

Eleven of those growers are still alive today in Pixley. Author Ron Taylor is just completing a book in which he describes all of that and he interviews the growers to find out what they think these many years later.

This is just an example of what the very day situation was during these days out in California. Usually, it didn't happen right in front of the police station, but the growers had it so much their own way, they didn't really care if it happened in front of the police station or not.

This did not stop the cotton strike, but it inflamed it more. Workers got violent also.

There was an active grower vigilante group in the 30's in Salinas. They hired an ex-Army general to come in and take over command of the city of Salinas and he had it organized like an army which sent out commandos all over the place. The District Attorney at that time, named Anthony Brazil, is the judge there now.

Address by Cesar Chavez
The Commonwealth Club of San Francisco
November 9, 1984

Twenty-one years ago last September, on a lonely, stretch of railroad track paralleling U.S. Highway 101 near Salinas, 32 Bracero farm workers lost their lives in a tragic accident.

The Braceros had been imported from Mexico to work on California farms. They died when their bus, which was converted from a flatbed truck, drove in front of a freight train.

Conversion of the bus had not been approved by any government agency. The driver had "tunnel" vision.

Most of the bodies lay unidentified for days. No one, including the grower who employed the workers even knew their names.

Today, thousands of farm workers live under savage conditions -- beneath trees and amid garbage and human excrement -- near tomato fields in San Diego County -- tomato fields which use the most modern farm technology.

Vicious rats gnaw on them as they sleep. They walk miles to buy food at inflated prices and they carry in water from irrigation pumps.

Child labor is still common in many farm areas.

As much as 30 percent of Northern California's garlic harvesters are under-aged children. Kids as young as six years old have voted in state-conducted union elections since they qualified as workers.

Some 800,000 under-aged children work with their families harvesting crops across America.

Babies born to migrant workers suffer 25 percent higher infant mortality than the rest of the population.

Malnutrition among migrant worker children is 10 times higher than the national rate.

Farm workers' average life expectancy is still 49 years -- compared to 73 years for the average American.

All my life, I have been driven by one dream, one goal, one vision: To overthrow a farm labor system in this nation which treats farm workers as if they were not important human beings.

Farm workers are not agricultural implements -- they are not beasts of burden to be used and discarded.

That dream was born in my youth. It was nurtured in my early days of organizing. It has flourished. It has been attacked.

I'm not very different from anyone else who has ever tried to accomplish something with his life. My motivation comes from

my personal life -- from watching what my mother and father went through when I was growing up -- from what we experienced as migrant farm workers in California.

That dream, that vision grew from my own experience with racism -- with hope -- with the desire to be treated fairly and to see my people treated as human beings and not as chattel.

It grew from anger and rage -- emotions I felt 40 years ago when people of my color were denied the right to see a movie or eat at a restaurant in many parts of California.

It grew from the frustration and humiliation I felt as a boy who couldn't understand how the growers could abuse and exploit farm workers when there were so many of us and so few of them.

Later, in the '50s, I experienced a different kind of exploitation. In San Jose, in Los Angeles and in other urban communities, we, the Mexican American people, were dominated by a majority that was Anglo.

I began to realize what other minority people had discovered: That the only answer -- the only hope was in organizing.

More of us had to become citizens. We had to register to vote. And people like me had to develop the skills it would take to organize, to educate, to help empower the Chicano people.

I spent many years -- before we founded the union -- learning how to work with people.

We experienced some successes in voter registration in politics in battling racial discrimination -- successes in an era when Black Americans were just beginning to assert their civil rights and when political awareness among Hispanics was almost non-existent.

But deep in my heart, I knew I could never be happy unless I tried organizing the farm workers. I didn't know if I would succeed. But I had to try.

All Hispanics -- urban and rural, young and old -- are connected to the farm workers' experience. We had all lived through the fields or our parents had. We shared that common humiliation.

How could we progress as a people, even if we lived in the cities, while the farm workers -- men and women of our color -- were condemned to a life without pride?

How could we progress as a people while the farm workers -- who symbolized our history in this land -- were denied self-respect?

How could our people believe that their children could become lawyers and doctors and judges and business people while this shame, this injustice was permitted to continue?

Those who attack our union often say, 'It's not really a union. It's something else -- a social movement. A civil rights movement. It's something dangerous.'

They're half right.

The United Farm Workers is first and foremost a union. A union like any other. A union that either produces for its members on the bread and butter issues or doesn't survive.

But the UFW has always been something more than a union. Although it's never been dangerous if you believe in the Bill of Rights.

The UFW was the beginning! We attacked that historical source of shame and infamy that our people in this country lived with.

We attacked that injustice not by complaining; not by seeking hand-outs; not by becoming soldiers in the War on Poverty.

We organized!

Farm workers acknowledged we had allowed ourselves to become victims in a democratic society -- a society where majority rule and collective bargaining are supposed to be more than academic theories or political rhetoric.

And by addressing this historical problem, we created confidence and in an entire people's ability to create the future.

The UFW's survival -- its existence were not in doubt in my mind when the time began to come -- after the union became visible -- when Chicanos started entering college in greater numbers -- when Hispanics began running for public office in greater numbers -- when our people started asserting their rights on a broad range of issues and in many communities across the country.

The union's survival -- its very existence -- sent out a signal to all Hispanics that we were fighting for our dignity.

That we were challenging and overcoming injustice.

That we were empowering the least educated among us; the poorest among us.

The message was clear: If it could happen in the fields, it could happen anywhere -- in the cities, in the courts, in the city councils, in the state legislatures.

I didn't really appreciate it at the time, but the coming of our union signaled the start of great changes among Hispanics that are only now beginning to be seen.

I've traveled to every part of this nation. I have met and spoken with thousands of Hispanics from every walk of life from every social and economic class.

One thing I hear most often from Hispanics, regardless of age or position -- and from many non-Hispanics as well -- is that the farm workers gave them hope that they could succeed and the inspiration to work for change.

From time to time you will hear our opponents declare that the union is weak -- that the union has no support -- that the union has not grown fast enough.

Our obituary has been written many times.

How ironic it is that the same forces which argue so passionately that the union is not influential are the same forces that continue to fight us so hard.

The union's power in agriculture has nothing to do with the number of farm workers under union contract.

It has nothing to do with the farm workers' ability to contribute to Democratic politicians.

It doesn't even have much to do with our ability to conduct successful boycotts.

The very fact of our existence forces an entire industry -- unionized and non-unionized -- to spend millions of dollars year

after year on improved wages -- on improved working conditions -- on benefits for workers.

If we're so weak and unsuccessful, why do the growers continue to fight us with such passion?

Because so long as we continue to exist, farm workers will benefit from our existence even if they don't work under union contract.

It doesn't really matter whether we have 100,000 members or 500,000 members. In truth, hundreds of thousands of farm workers in California -- and in other states -- are better off today because of our work.

And Hispanics across California and the nation, who don't work in agriculture, are better off today because of what the farm workers taught people -- about organization -- about pride and strength -- about seizing control over their own lives.

Tens of thousands of the children and grandchildren of farm workers -- and the children and grandchildren of poor Hispanics -- are moving out of the fields and out of the barrios -- and into the professions -- and into business -- and into politics.

And that movement cannot be reversed!

Our union will forever exist as an empowering force among Chicanos in the Southwest.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

And that means our power and our influence will grow and not diminish.

Two major trends give us hope and encouragement.

First, our union has returned to a tried and tested weapon in the farm workers' non-violent arsenal -- the boycott!

After the Agricultural Labor Relations Act became law in California in 1975, we dismantled our boycott to work with the law.

During the early- and mid-'70s, millions of Americans supported our boycotts. After 1975, we redirected our efforts from the boycott to organizing and winning elections under the law.

The law helped farm workers make progress in overcoming poverty and injustice.

At companies where farm workers are protected by union contracts, we have made progress in overcoming child labor -- in overcoming miserable wages and working conditions -- in overcoming sexual harassment of women workers -- in overcoming dangerous pesticides which poison our people and poison the food we all eat.

Where we have organized, these injustices soon pass into history.

But under Republican Governor George Deukmejian, the law that guarantees our right to organize no longer protects farm workers -- it doesn't work anymore!

In 1982, corporate growers gave Deukmejian one million dollars to run for Governor of California. Since he took office, Deukmejian has paid back his debt to the growers with the blood and sweat of California farm workers.

Instead of enforcing the law as it was written against those who break it, Deukmejian invites growers who break the law to seek relief from the Governor's appointees.

What does all this mean for farm workers?

It means that the right to vote in free elections is a sham!

It means that the right to talk freely about the union among your fellow workers on the job is a cruel hoax!

It means the right to be free from threats and intimidation by growers is an empty promise!

It means the right to sit down and negotiate with your employer as across the bargaining table -- and not as peons in the field -- is a fraud!

It means that thousands of farm workers -- who are owed millions of dollars in back pay because their employers broke the law -- are still waiting for their checks.

It means that 36,000 farm workers -- who voted to be represented by the United Farm Workers in free elections -- are still waiting for contracts from growers who refuse to bargain in good faith.

It means that, for farm workers, child labor will continue.

It means that infant mortality will continue.

It means malnutrition among our children will continue.

It means the short life expectancy and the inhuman living and working conditions will continue.

Are these make-believe threats? Are they exaggerations?

Ask the farm workers who are still waiting for growers to bargain in good faith and sign contracts!

Ask the farm workers who've been fired from their jobs because they spoke out for the union!

Ask the farm workers who've been threatened with physical violence because they support the UFW!

Ask the family of Rene Lopez, the young farm worker from Fresno who was shot to death last year because he supported the union.

These tragic events forced farm workers to declare a new international boycott of California table grapes.

That's why we are asking Americans once again to join the farm workers by boycotting California grapes.

The Louis Harris poll revealed that 17 million American adults boycotted grapes. We are convinced that those people and that good will have not disappeared.

That segment of the population which makes our boycotts work are the Hispanics, the Blacks, the other minorities and our allies in labor and the church.

But it is also an entire generation of young Americans who matured politically and socially in the 1960s and'70s -- Millions of people for whom boycotting grapes and other products became a socially accepted pattern of behavior.

If you were young, Anglo and on or near campus during the late '60s and early '70s, chances are you supported farm workers.

Fifteen years later, the men and women of that generation of are alive and well.

They are in their mid-30s and '40s. They are pursuing professional careers. Their disposable income is relatively high.

But they are still inclined to respond to an appeal from farm workers. The union's mission still has meaning for them.

Only we must translate the importance of a union for farm workers into the language of the 1980s.

Instead of talking about the right to organize, we must talk about protection against sexual harassment in the fields.

We must speak about the right to quality food -- and food that is safe to eat.

I can tell you that the new language is working the 17 million are still there.

They are responding -- not to picket lines and leafletting alone; but to the high-tech boycott of today. A boycott that uses computers and direct mail and advertising techniques which have revolutionized business and politics in recent years.

We have achieved more success with the boycott in the first 11 months of 1984 than we achieved in the 14 years since 1970.

The other trend that gives us hope is the monumental growth of Hispanic influence in this country -- and what that means in increased population, increased social and economic clout, and increased political influence.

South of the Sacramento River in California, Hispanics now make up more than 25 percent of the population.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

That figure will top 30 percent by the year 2000.

There are 1.1 million Spanish-surnamed registered voters in California; 85 percent are Democrats; only 13 percent are Republicans.

In 1975, there were 200 Hispanic elected officials at all levels of government.

In 1984, there are over 400 elected judges, city council members, mayors and legislators.

In light of these trends, it is absurd to believe or suggest that we are going to go back in time as a union or as a people!

The growers often try to blame the union for their problems to lay their sins off on us -- sins for which they only have themselves to blame.

The growers only have themselves to blame as they begin to reap the harvest from decades of environmental damage they have brought upon the land -- The pesticides, the herbicides, the soil fumigants, the fertilizers, the salt deposits from thoughtless irrigation -- The ravages from years of unrestrained poisoning of our soil and water.

Thousands of acres of land in California have already been irrevocably damaged by this wanton abuse of nature. Thousands

more will be lost unless growers understand that dumping more poisons on the soil won't solve their problems -- on the short term or the long term.

Health authorities in many San Joaquin Valley towns already warn young children and pregnant women not to drink the water because of nitrates from fertilizers which have contaminated the groundwater.

The growers only have themselves to blame for an increasing demand by consumers for higher quality food -- food that isn't tainted by toxics -- food that doesn't result from plant mutations or chemicals which produce red, luscious-looking tomatoes -- that tastes like alfalfa.

The growers are making the same mistake American automakers made in the '60s and '70s when they refused to produce small economical cars and opened the door to increased foreign competition.

Growers only have themselves to blame for increasing attacks on their publicly-financed hand-outs and government welfare: Water subsidies; mechanization research; huge subsidies for not growing crops.

These special privileges came into being before the Supreme Court's one-person, one-vote decision at a time when rural lawmakers dominated the Legislature and the Congress.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Soon, those hand-outs could be in jeopardy -- as government searches for more revenue and as urban taxpayers take a closer look at farm programs -- and who they benefit.

The growers only have themselves to blame for the humiliation they have brought upon succeeding waves of immigrant groups which have sweated and sacrificed for 100 years to make this industry rich.

For generations, they have subjugated entire races of dark-skinned farm workers.

These are the sins of the growers -- not the farm workers.

We didn't poison the land.

We didn't open the door to imported produce.

We didn't covet billions of dollars in government handouts.

We didn't abuse and exploit the people who work the land.

Today, the growers are like a punch-drunk old boxer who doesn't know he's past his prime.

The times are changing. The political and social environment has changed.

The chickens are coming home to roost and the time to account for past sins is approaching.

I am told, these days, why farm workers should be discouraged and pessimistic: The Republicans control the Governor's Office and the White House. They say there is a conservative trend in the nation.

Yet we are filled with hope and encouragement.

We have looked into the future and the future is ours!

History and inevitability are on our side. The farm workers and their children -- and the Hispanics and their children -- are the future in California. And corporate growers are the past!

Those politicians who ally themselves with the corporate growers and against the farm workers and the Hispanics are in for a big surprise.

They want to make their careers in politics. They want to hold power 20 and 30 years from now.

But 20 and 30 years from now -- in Modesto, in Salinas, in Fresno, in Bakersfield, in the Imperial Valley, and in many of the great cities of California -- those communities will be dominated by farm workers and not by growers -- by the children and grandchildren of farm workers and not by the children and grandchildren of growers.

These trends are part of the forces of history which cannot be stopped!

No person and no organization can resist them for very long. They are inevitable!

Once social change begins, it cannot be reversed.

You cannot uneducate the person who has learned to read. You cannot humiliate the person who feels pride. You cannot oppress the people who are not afraid anymore.

Our opponents must understand that it's not just a union we have built. Unions, like other institutions, can come and go.

But we're more than an institution!

For nearly 20 years, our union has been on the cutting edge of a people's cause. And you cannot do away with an entire people. You cannot stamp out a people's cause.

Regardless of what the future holds for the union -- regardless of what the future holds for farm workers -- our accomplishments cannot be undone!

"La Causa" -- our cause -- doesn't have to be experienced twice.

The consciousness and pride that were raised by our union are alive and thriving inside millions of young Hispanics who will never work on a farm!

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Like the other immigrant groups, the day will come when we win the economic and political rewards which are in keeping with our numbers in society.

The day will come when the politicians do the right thing by our people out of political necessity and not out of charity or idealism.

That day may not come this year.

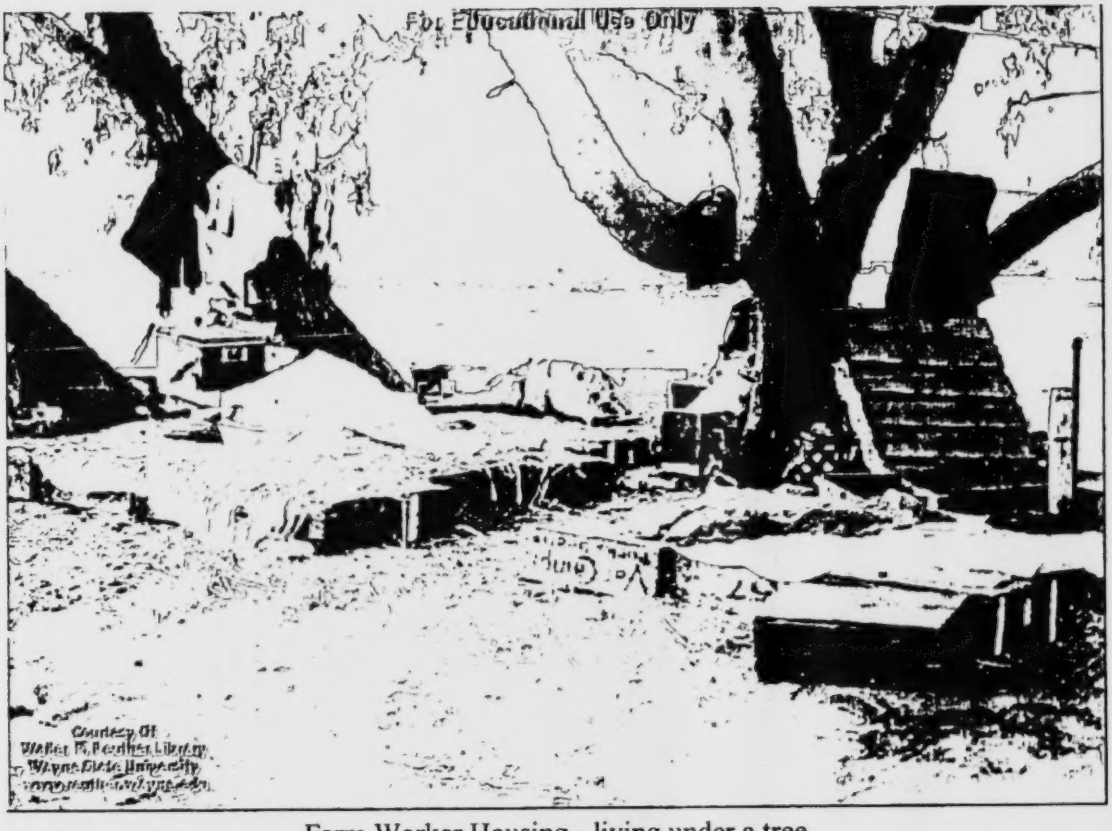
That day may not come during this decade.

But it will come, someday!

And when that day comes, we shall see the fulfillment of that passage from the Book of Matthew in the New Testament, "That the last shall be first and the first shall be last."

And on that day, our nation shall fulfill its creed and that fulfillment shall enrich us all.

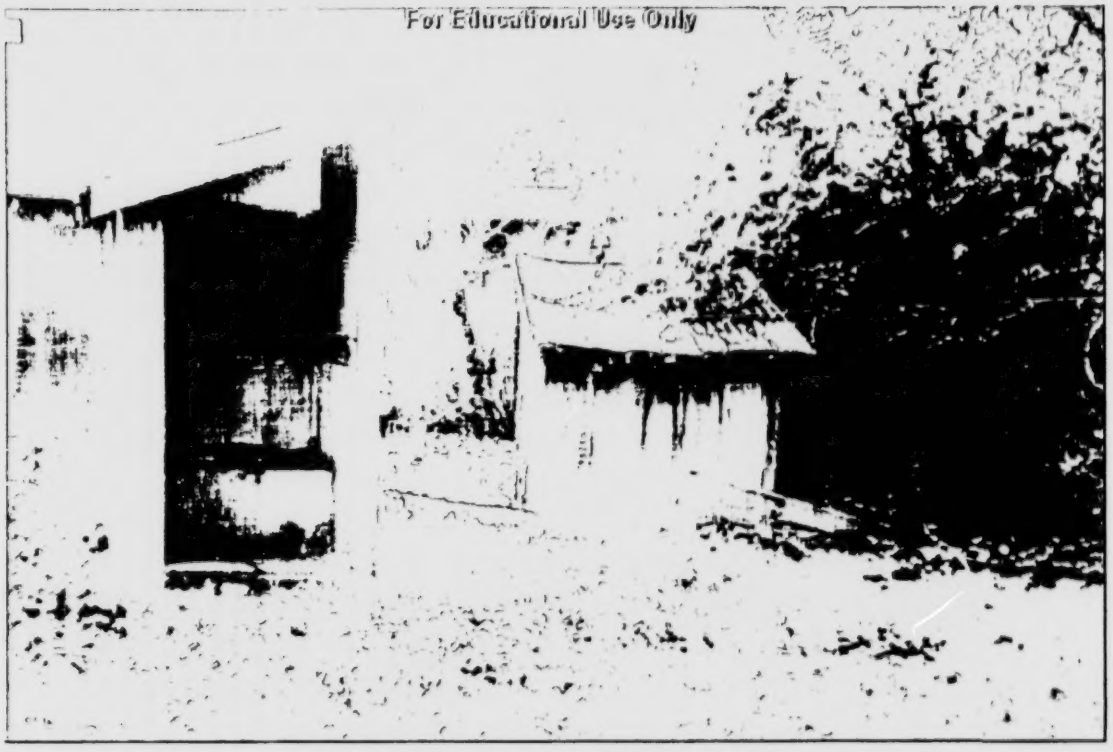
Thank you very much.



Farm Worker Housing - living under a tree
Photo by: UFW

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

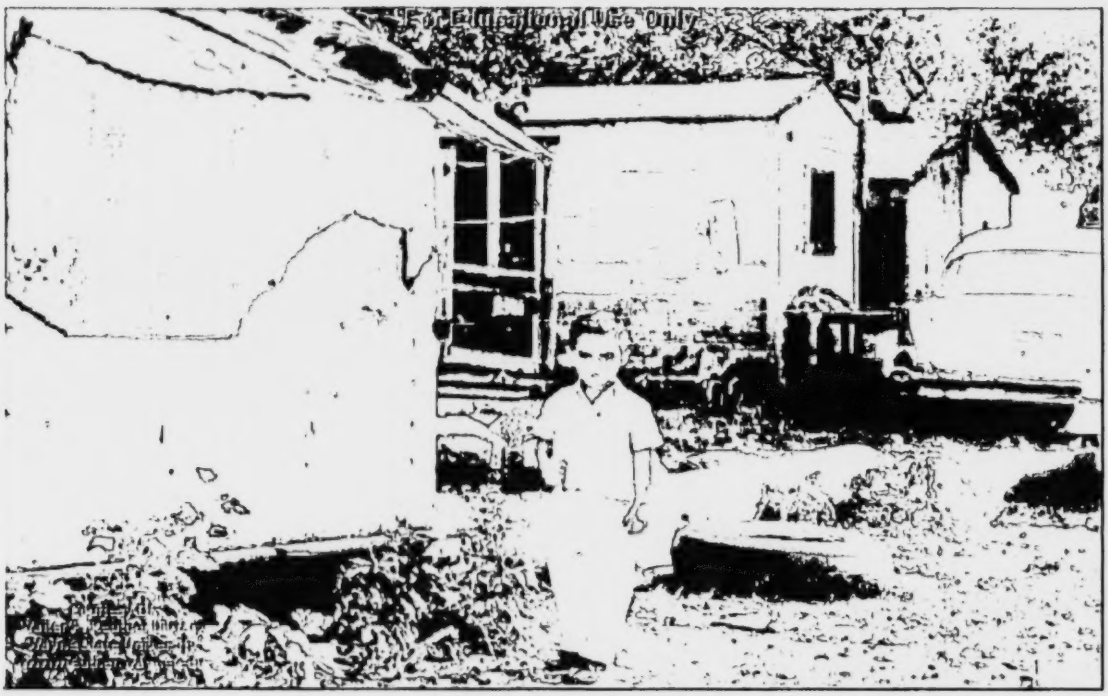
For Educational Use Only



Farm Worker Housing, Guadelupe 1972
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

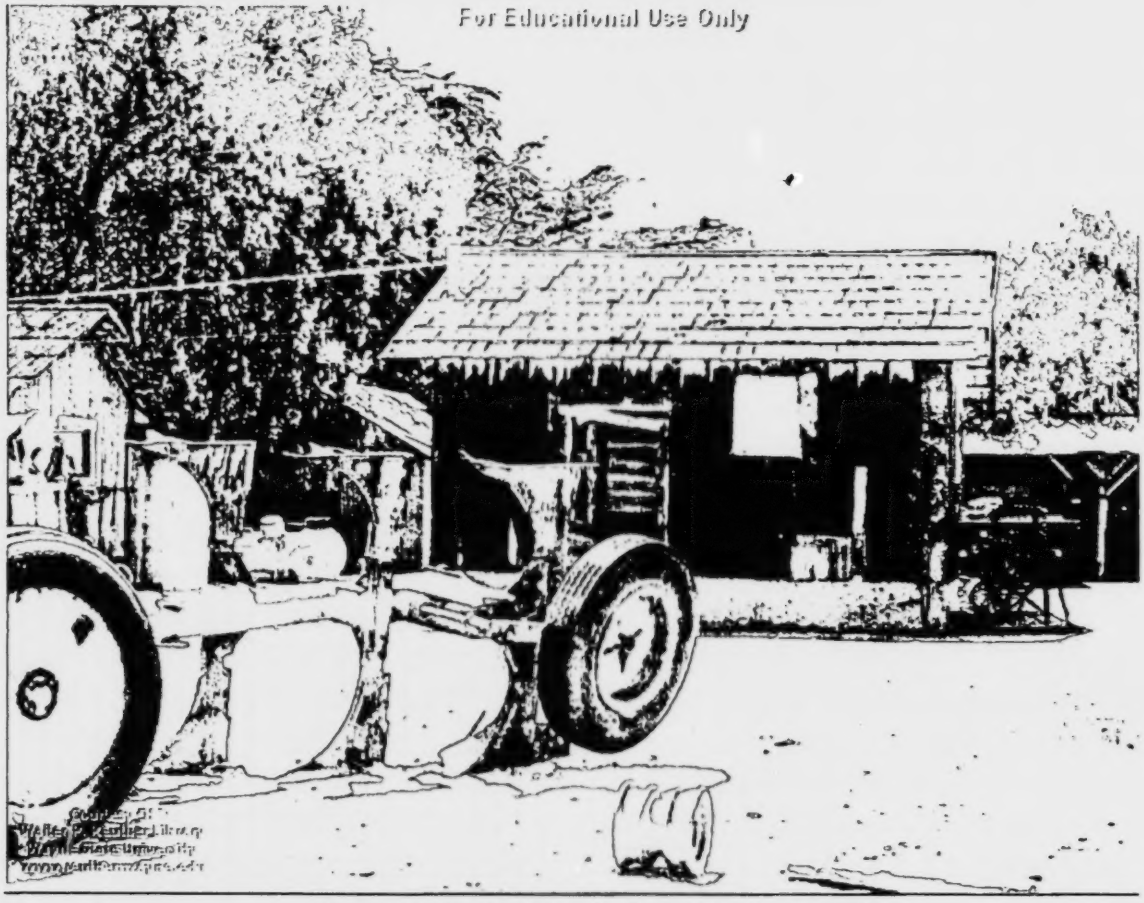
For Educational Use Only

Farm worker housing with children flying a kite, Guadelupe 1972
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria



Farm Worker Housing, 1972
Photo by: UFW

For Educational Use Only

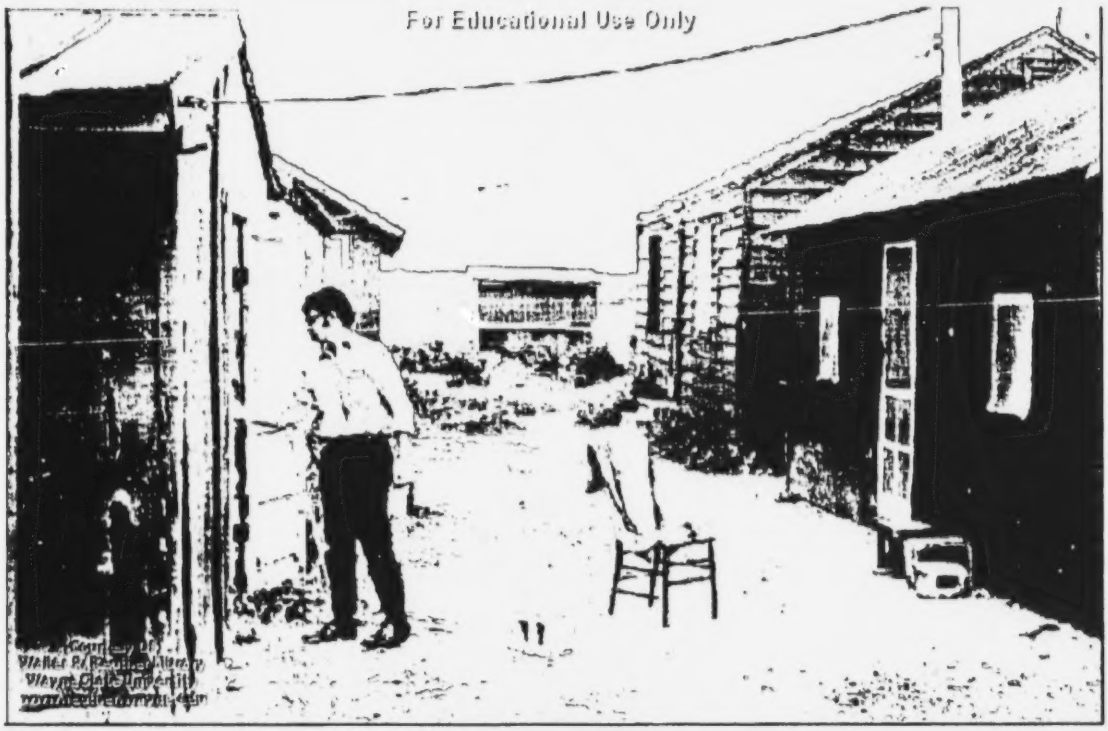


Farm Worker Housing in Santa Maria, Jul. 1972
Photo by: El Malcriado

For Educational Use Only

Farm worker housing Guadelupe 1972
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



Farm Worker Housing
Photo by: Cris Sanchez

For Educational Use Only

Courtesy of
Walter P. Reuther Library
Wayne State University

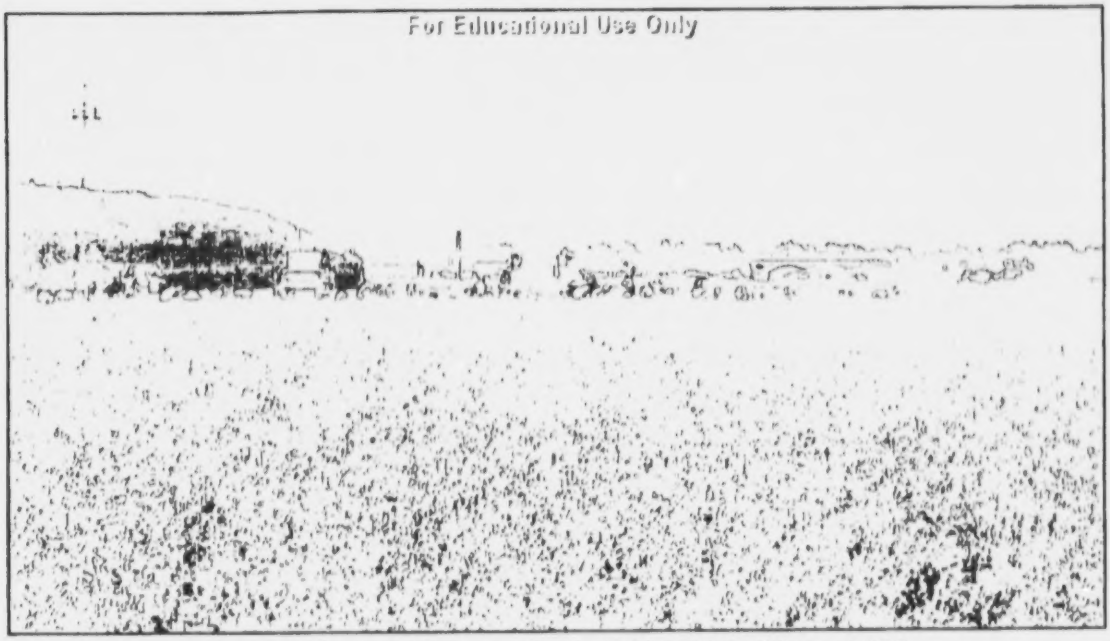
Farm Worker Housing
Photo by: Cris Sanchez

For Educational Use Only

Young children worked with the family sharecropers planting strawberries in the Santa Maria Valley. 1970

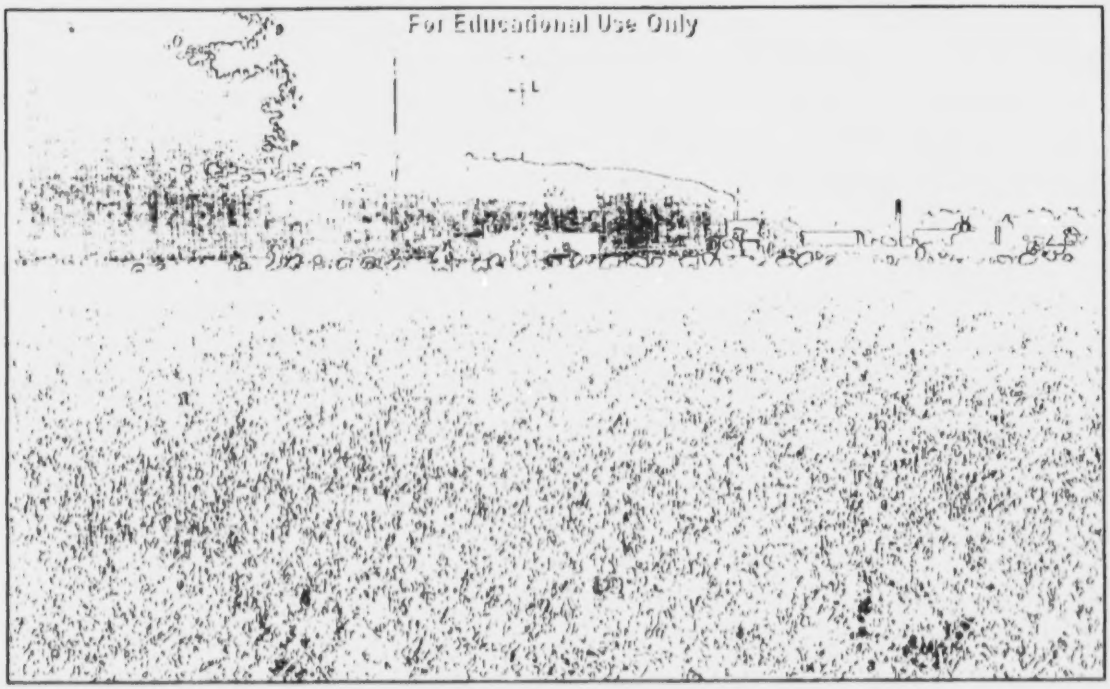
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



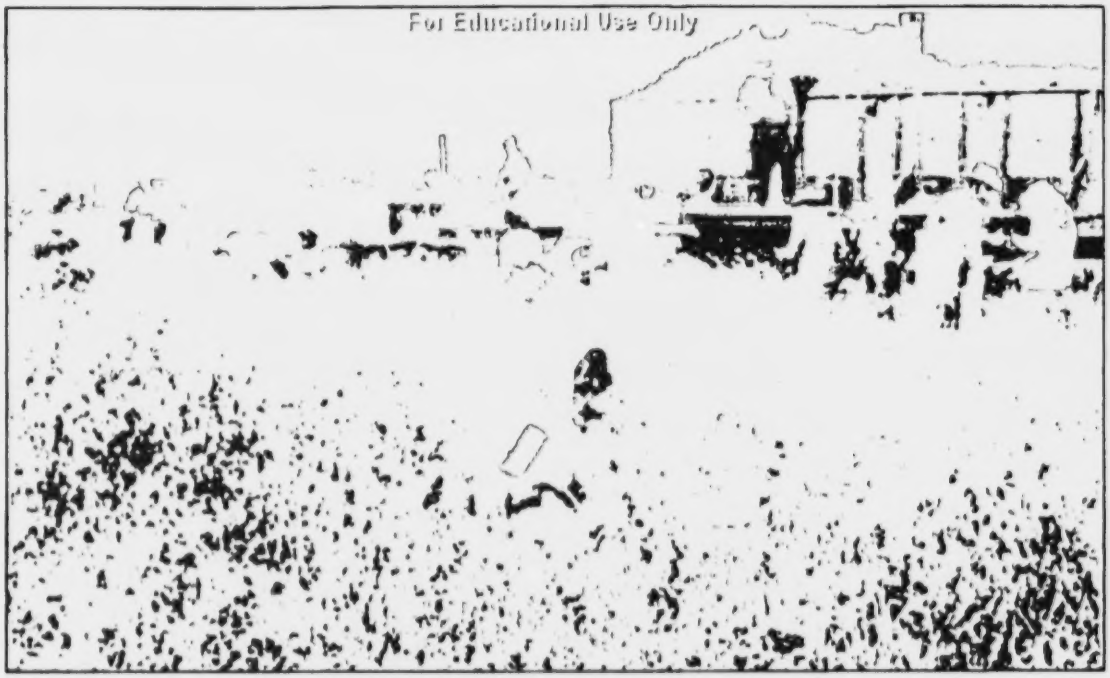
Farm workers picking peas in the fields of Guadelupe. 1975
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



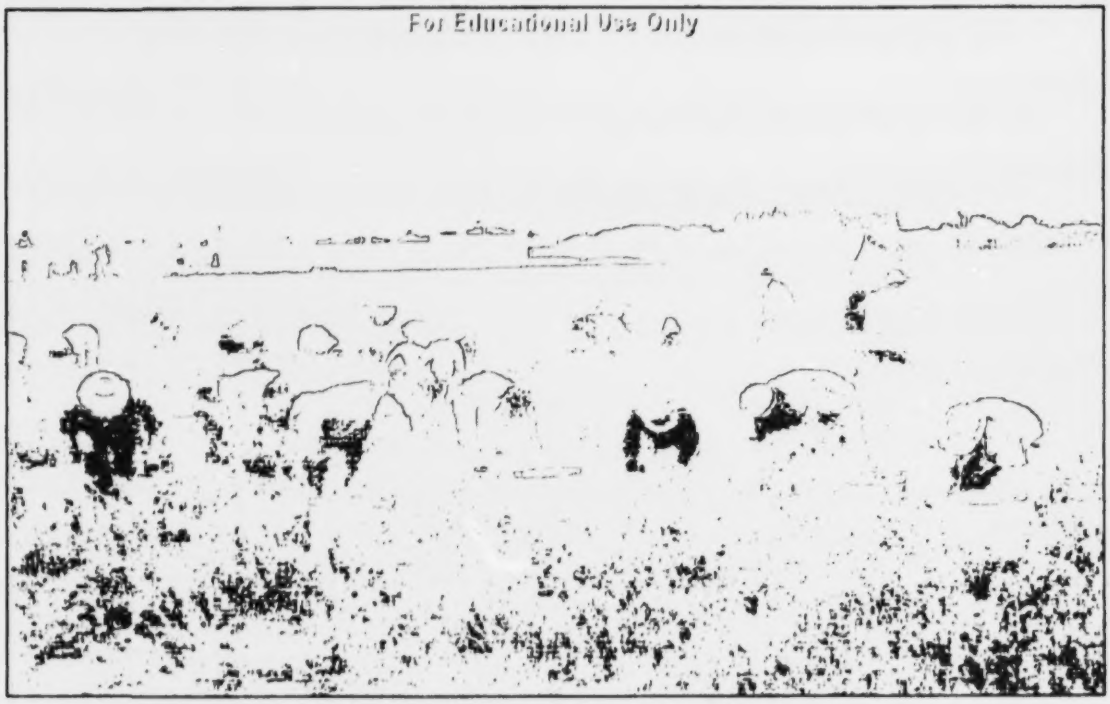
Farm workers harvest crops. 1975
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



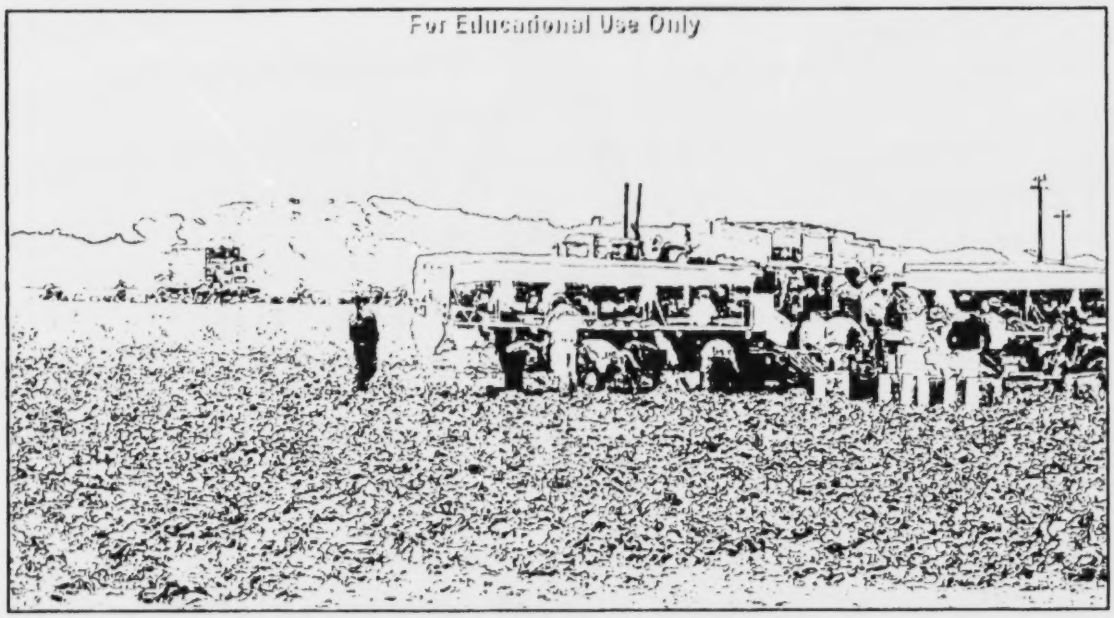
Farm Workers Picking Chili in Santa Maria. 1971
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



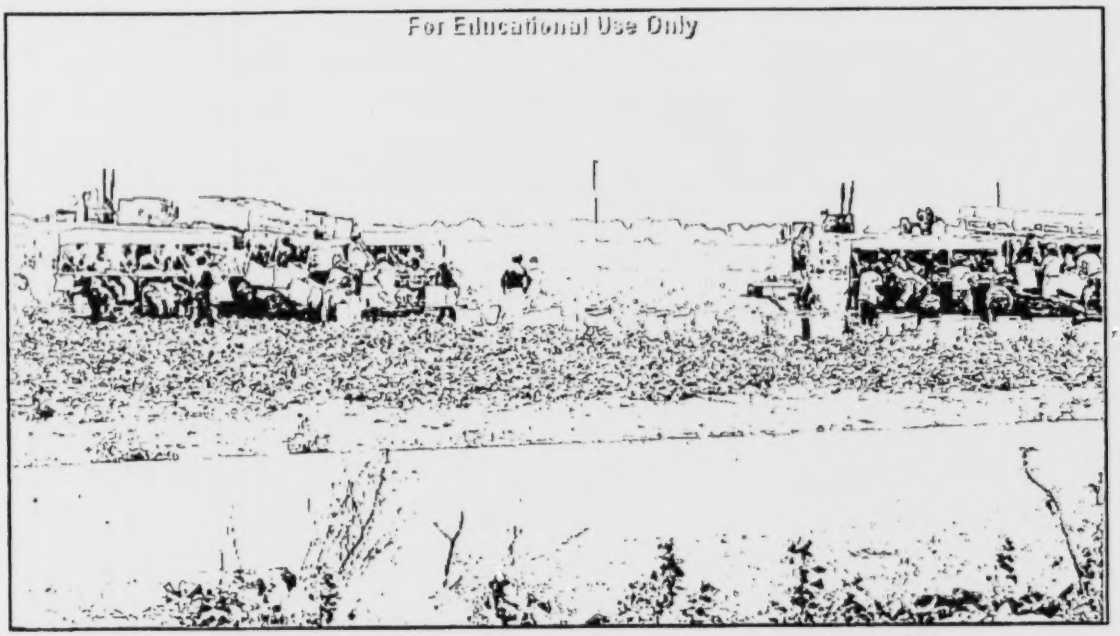
Farm Workers Picking Chili in Santa Maria. 1971
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



Field packing lettuce in Guadelupe 1975
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only



Farm Workers cutting and field packing lettuce. Guadelupe 1975
Photo by: Manuel Echavaria

For Educational Use Only

Workers Harvesting Carrots
Photo by: UFW

Lesson Title:
Fasting and Politics

Grade Level: Grade Ten Lesson 2

Unit of Study: India's Independence

History-Social Science Standard:

10.4 Students analyze patterns of global change in the era of New Imperialism in at least two of the following regions or countries: Africa, Southeast Asia, China, India, Latin America, and the Philippines.

10.4.3 3 Explain imperialism from the perspective of the colonizers and the colonized and the varied immediate and long-term responses by the people under colonial rule.

Setting the Context:

Fasting for religious purposes has been done for hundreds of years. Mohandas Gandhi commented that, "fasting is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends, noble as well as ignoble." Cleansing one's self of impurities of the body many feel leads one to a greater relationship with themselves bringing them closer to nature, the universe and a higher power. Although both Mohandas Gandhi and César E. Chávez believed strongly in the spiritual and religious aspects of fasting they also used fasts to draw attention to political inequalities and injustices.

During World War I, Indian nationalists supported Great Britain. For their support, Great Britain promised, in 1917, to gradually move them to self-government. Many Britons feared losing power and opposed this measure. In an effort to quell dissidents, the government imposed new severe laws that permitted Indians to be arrested without cause.

Gandhi, who was a leader in the Indian National Congress, came to the forefront to battle these injustices following a massacre at Amristar. Gandhi's tactics were rooted in the philosophy of Satyagraha. Satyagraha, which literally means "truth force" was the term used to describe the nonviolent methods that Gandhi implemented. Satyagraha was not passive resistance, but rather, an active way to battle injustices. This included protests, marches, sit-ins and fasting.

Gandhi did not intend to use the fast as a hunger strike but rather as a positive action to bring about social change. A 21-day fast in February 1943 for the unity and independence drew the attention of Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt. By the twelfth day of the fast Gandhi was in "grave condition" and nearly died. Britain finally granted India its independence in 1947 following World War II. Gandhi started another fast on January 13, 1948 to quell Hindu unrest. The fast ended with Gandhi's death on

January 30, 1948 from an assassin's bullet.

Focus Questions:

What is a fast?

Why do people fast?

Why do you think people like Gandhi and Chávez would fast?

Expected Learning Outcomes:

Students will identify the term Satyagraha and explain how Gandhi used it.
Compare and contrast Gandhi's reasons and use of fasting with Chávez's.
Students will evaluate the effectiveness of using the fast to gain political awareness.

Assessment:

- Students will write a short summary of the meaning of Satyagraha and how it affected Gandhi's life.
- Students will create a thematic compare and contrast chart comparing Gandhi's philosophy of fasting with César E. Chávez's.
- Students will debate the effectiveness of fasting to gain political awareness.

Key Concepts:

fasting
independence
Satyagraha
self-denial
penance

Essential Vocabulary:

fasting
Satyagraha
hunger strike
Hindu
Muslim

Primary Sources:

- Gandhi quotes (See Appendix A)
- César Chávez quotes/speeches attached. There are more on the CDE Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com:8080/research under documents and then in the speeches folder. There is a picture of César and his fast breaking on the CDE

Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com/teachers/Lessons/resources/pictures/cec15.jpg I copy is also attached to this lesson

- Use a voice, picture, or attached documents {also found at http://chavez.scientech.com/teachers/Lessons/resources/documents/EXR1_Cesar_E_Chavez_Statements_on_Fasts.pdf}, or streaming short clip of Rev. Jesse Jackson during the fast. Refer to the fast in the attached high school biography of César Chávez on the CDE Web site. The biography can also be found on the web at http://chavez.scientech.com/Teachers/Lessons/Resources/Biographies/High_School_Biography.htm

Visuals:

- Pictures of Gandhi and the pictures and clips from the primary sources above.

Procedure

Motivation:

Tell the students that they should either try to refrain from eating between meals before the next class or at least give up their favorite candy or soft drink for a day or two. This in a small way may give them a small inclination of fasting. Ask the students at the opening of class what they felt like, both physically and mentally, when they were giving their items up.

Making Connections:

Many people in the world still fast for religious purposes. This is especially true around certain church times of the year. It is thought of as a way to cleanse both the body and soul. This is different than a hunger strike. Hunger strikes do not carry the religious connection that both Gandhi and César had with their fasts.

Vocabulary Activities:

Take each of the vocabulary words and first define each. Then, in groups, take each word and find as many words that they can associate with each word and share with the class.

Guided Instruction:

1) Do the Motivation from above, making sure to assign the giving up of items one or two days in advance.

2) Ask the students the other two focus questions.

3) Students should have read the appropriate material from their textbook on Gandhi

and Indian independence and the teacher has provided additional information from the Setting the Context.

4) Have the students read the quotes and study the pictures/clips.

5) In small groups or as a class facilitate discussion amongst the students about what they see. After completing the discussion give the students a Venn diagram to complete.

6) Use the students' textbooks for background readings on the effect of Gandhi's fasts. Use the CDE biography to relate César Chávez's fasts and his use of nonviolent social activism to Gandhi's teachings.

7) Have the students write a point of view essay stating whether or not they believe Gandhi and Chávez were effective in conducting their fasts. If so why and what was the overall effect and if not why not and what was the overall effect?

Integrating Language:

1) Pre-reading skills will activate prior knowledge through classroom discussion. Active discussion will be used in reviewing the primary source documents.

2) Speaking and listening skills will also be used when students share their feelings about Gandhi's and Chávez's life and use of fasts.

3) Writing skills will be worked on through a point of view essay that makes students take a position on the effectiveness of fasts.

Enrichment:

1) Students can gain more understanding of Gandhi by visiting the Gandhi Institute on Nonviolence at World Wide Web.

2) Research how governments react throughout European history to fasts and hunger strikes.

Service Learning:

Identify the problem:
There are many community organizations that rely on donations to survive.

Develop a Plan:
Connect this lesson with the idea of contributing to these organizations by having a "Give It Up Day". Have the students identify a food/drink item that they could perhaps give up for a day and donate the food or money that it would have cost to a particular organization in the community.

Initiate action:
Contact and arrange with the particular organization a[illegible] advertise around the school a "Give It Up Day". Collect the food.

Reflection:
Have students talk about their experience providing service to their community. How did it feel? What happened? Were other people's lives affected? If so, how? Have them relate their experience to César's value of "service to others." What does it mean to serve others? What are other ways of providing service to the community?

Appendix A

Quotes from M.K. Gandhi

A complete fast is a complete and literal denial of self. It is the truest prayer.

My religion teaches me that whenever there is distress, which one cannot remove, one must fast and pray.

What should a nonviolent person do when he finds his friends, relations or countrymen refuse to give up an immoral way of life, and all arguments prove futile to evoke any response? An ahimsa-ite must not use a semblance of force to convert the wrong-doer. He even eschews the use of any harsh language. The first step is gentle and affectionate persuasion. When it fails to produce any salutary effect, voluntarily he invites suffering in his own body to open the eyes of the person who is determined to see no light.

Fasting is an institution as old as Adam. It has been resorted to for self-purification or for some ends, noble as well as ignoble.

A genuine fast cleanses the body, mind, and soul. It crucifies the flesh and to that extent sets the soul free.

What the eyes are for the outer world, fasts are for the inner.

Fear is not a disease of the body; fear kills the soul.

A fear-stricken person can never know God, and one who knows God will never fear a mortal man.

Where there is fear, there is not religion.

It is weakness which breeds fear, and fear breeds distrust.

There would be no one to frighten you if you refuse to be afraid.

For a nonviolent person, the whole world is one family. He will thus fear none, nor will others fear him.

The Golden Rule is to act fearlessly upon what one believes to be right.

Education of the Heart

Cesar E. Chavez In His Own Words

Commitment

"Being of service is not enough. You must become a servant of the people.When you do, you can demand their commitment in return."

"There's no turning back...We will win. We are winning because ours is a revolution of mind and heart..."

"In this world it is possible to achieve great material wealth, to live an opulent life. But a life built upon those things alone leaves a shallow legacy, in the end, we will be judged by other standards."

Community

"We cannot seek achievement for ourselves and forget about progress and prosperity for our community...Our ambitions must be broad enough to include the aspirations and needs of others, for their sakes and for our own."

"You are never strong enough that you don't need help."

Culture

"We need to help students and parents cherish and preserve the ethnic and cultural diversity that nourishes and strengthens this community and this nation."

Dignity

"Do not romanticize the poor...We are all people, human beings subject to the same temptations and faults as all others. Our poverty damages our dignity."

"From the depth of need and despair, people can work together, can organize themselves to solve their own problems and fill their own needs with dignity and strength."

"What is at stake is human dignity. If a man is not accorded respect he cannot respect himself and if he does not respect himself, he cannot demand it."

Education

"A word as to the education of the heart. We don't believe that this can be imparted through books; it can only be imparted through the loving touch of the teacher."

"Real education should consist of drawing the goodness and the best out of our own students. What better books can there be than the book of humanity?"

"The end of all education should surely be service to others."

"Years of misguided teaching have resulted in the destruction of the best in our society, in our cultures and in the environment."

Future Generations

"It is not enough to teach our young people to be successful... so they can realize their ambitions, so they can earn good livings, so they can accumulate the material things that this society bestows. Those are worthwhile goals. But it is not enough to progress as individuals while our friends and neighbors are left behind."

"Perhaps we can bring the day when children will learn from their earliest days that being fully man and fully woman means to give one's life to the liberation of the brother/sister who suffer. It is up to each one of us. It won't happen unless we decide to use our lives to show the way."

"Students must have initiative; they should not be mere imitators. They must learn to think and act for themselves and be free."

| Justice

"It is possible to become discouraged about the injustice we see everywhere. But God did not promise us that the world would be humane and just. He gives us the gift of life and allows us to choose the way we well use our limited time on earth. It is an awesome opportunity."

"People who have lost their hunger for justice are not ultimately powerful. They are like sick people who have lost their appetite for what is truly nourishing. Such sick people should not frighten or discourage us. They should be prayed for along with the sick people who are in the hospital."

Non-Violence

"The first principle of non-violence action is that of non-cooperation with everything humiliating."

"There is no such thing as defeat in non-violence."

"You know, if people are not pacifists, it's not their fault. It's because society puts them in that spot. You've got to change it. You don't just change a man - you've got to change his environment as you do it."

"...People think non-violence is really weak and non-militant. These are misconceptions that people have because they don't understand what non-violence means. Non-violence takes more guts, if I can put it bluntly, than violence. Most violence acts are accomplished by getting the opponent off guard, and it doesn't take that much character, I think, if one wants to do it."

"Non-violence is very weak in the theoretical sense; it cannot defend itself. But it is most powerful in the action situation where people are using non-violence because they want desperately to bring about some change. Non-violence inaction is a very potent force and it can't be stopped. The people who are struggling have the complete say-so. No man-made law, no human ruler, no army can destroy this. There is no way it can be destroyed...And so, if we have the capacity to endure, if we have the patience, things will change."

"Violence just hurts those who are already hurt...Instead of exposing the brutality of the oppressor, it justifies it."

"We are convinced that non-violence is more powerful than violence. We are convinced that non-violence supports you if you have a just and moral cause...If you use violence, you have to sell part of yourself for that violence. Then you are no longer a master of your own struggle."

Power

"It's amazing how people can get so excited about a rocket to the moon and not give a damn about smog, oil leaks, the devastation of the environment with pesticides, hunger, disease. When the poor share some of the power that the affluent now monopolize, we will give a damn."

"Society is made up of groups, and as long as the smaller groups do not have the same rights and the same protection as others - I don't care whether you call it capitalism or communism -it is not going to work. Somehow, the guys in power have to be reached by counter power, or through a change in their hearts and minds, or change will not come."

Sacrifice

"We can choose to use our lives for others to bring about a better and more just world for our children. People who make that choice will know hardship and sacrifice. But if you give yourself totally to the non-violent struggle for peace and justice you also find that people give you their hearts and you will never go hungry and never be alone. And in giving of yourself you will discover a whole new life full of meaning and love."
"When any person suffers for someone in greater need, that person is a human."

The Movement

"There is enough love and good will in our movement to give energy to our struggle and still have plenty left over to break down and change the climate of hate and fear around us."

The Struggle

"Because we have suffered, and we are not afraid to suffer in order to survive, we are ready to give up everything - even our lives - in our struggle for justice."

"However important the struggle is and however much misery and poverty and degradation exist, we know that it cannot be more important than one human life."

"When we are really honest with ourselves we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us, so it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving life do we find life, that the truest act courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others, God help us to be men."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For Educational Use Only

STATEMENT BY CESAR CHAVEZ AT THE END OF HIS
24-DAY FAST FOR JUSTICE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA
JUNE 4, 1972

I want to thank you for coming today. Some of you have been to the Santa Rita Center many times. Some have made beautiful offerings at the Mass. I have received letters and telegrams and lettuce boycott pledges from all over the world. All of these expressions of your love and your support for the farmworkers struggle have strengthened my spirits and I am grateful. I want especially to honor the farm workers who have risked so much to go on strike for their rights. Your sacrifices will not be in vain!

I am weak in my body but I feel very strong in my spirits. I am happy to end the fast because it is not an easy thing. But it is also not easy for my family and for many of you have worried and worked and sacrificed. The Fast was meant as a call to sacrifice for justice and as a reminder of how much suffering there is among farm workers. In fact, what is a few days without food in comparison to the daily pain of our brothers and sisters who do backbreaking work in the fields under inhuman conditions and without hope of ever breaking their cycle of poverty and misery. What a terrible irony it is that the very people who harvest the food we eat do not have enough food for their own children.

It is possible to become discouraged about the injustice we see everywhere. But God did not promise us that the world would be humane and just. He gives us the gift of life and allows us to choose the way we will use our limited time on this earth. It is an awesome opportunity. We should be thankful for the life we have been given, thankful for the opportunity to do something about the suffering of our fellowman. We can choose to use our lives for others to bring about a better and more just world for our children. People who make that choice will know hardship and sacrifice. But if you give yourself totally to the nonviolent struggle for peace and justice, you also find that people will give you their hearts and you will never go hungry and never be alone. And in giving of yourself you will discover a whole new life full of meaning and love.

Nan Freeman and Sal Sontos have given their lives for our movement this past year. They were very young. It hurt us to lose them and it still hurts us. But the greatest tragedy is not to live and die, as we all must. The greatest tragedy is for a person to live and die without knowing the satisfaction of giving life for others. The greatest tragedy is to be born but not to live for fear of losing a little security or because we are afraid of loving and giving ourselves to other people.

Our opponents in the agricultural industry are very powerful and farm workers are still weak in money and influence. But we have another kind of power that comes from the justice of our cause. So long as we are willing to sacrifice for that cause, so long as we persist in non-violence and work to spread the message of our struggle, then millions of people around the world will respond from their hearts, will support our efforts. . . .and in the end we will overcome. It can be done. We know it can be done. God give us the strength and patience to do it without bitterness so that we can win both our friends and opponents to the cause of justice.

United Farm Workers 3419 Michigan Ave. Detroit, Mi. 48216 825-4811

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The following statement by Cesar Chavez was read to nearly 8,000 farm workers gathered in Delano on Sunday, March 10, 1968 to break bread with their leader thus to celebrate their unit and their determination to continue a militant but non-violent struggle for social justice.

STATEMENT BY CESAR CHAVEZ
ON THE CONCLUSION OF A 25 DAY FAST FOR NON-VIOLENCE

I have asked the Rev. James Drake to read this statement to you because my heart is so full and my body too weak to be able to say what I feel.

My warm thanks to all of you for coming today. Many of you have been here before, during the Fast. Some have sent beautiful cards and telegrams and made offerings at the Mass. All of these expressions of your love have strengthened me and I am grateful.

We should all express our thanks to Senator Kennedy for his constant work on behalf of the poor, for his personal encouragement to me, and for taking the time to break bread with us today.

I do not want any of you to be deceived about the Fast. The strict Fast of water only which I undertook on February 15 ended after the 21st day because of the advice of our doctor, James McKnight, and other physicians. Since that time I have been taking liquids in order to prevent serious damage to my kidneys.

We are gathered here today not so much to observe the end of the Fast but because we are a family bound together in a common struggle for justice. We are a Union family celebrating our unity and the non-violent nature of our movement. Perhaps in the future we will come together at other times and places to break bread and to renew our courage and to celebrate important victories.

The Fast has had different meanings for different people. Some of you may still wonder about its meaning and importance. It was not intended as a pressure against any growers. For that reason we have suspended negotiations and arbitration proceedings and relaxed the militant picketing and boycotting of the strike during this period. I undertook this Fast because my heart was filled with grief and pain for the sufferings of farm workers. The Fast was first for me and then for all of us in this Union. It was a Fast for non-violence and a call to sacrifice.

Our struggle is not easy. Those who oppose our cause are rich and powerful and they have many allies in high places. We are poor. Our allies are few. But we have something the rich do not own. We have our own bodies and spirits and the justice of our cause as our weapons.

When we are really honest with ourselves we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us. So, it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving our lives do we find life. I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice.

To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us to be men!

3/68

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE

Add or delete as your situation requires.

CONTACT: FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PHONE: DATE:

CESAR CHAVEZ'S FAST FOR LIFE ENDURES; THOUSANDS JOIN GRAPE BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN

_____(Name of group and/or people involved)_____

_____

will be _____(beginning a fast; chain of fasting; picketing at local market; etc.)_____ on _____(day, date, time)_____ at _____(location)_____ to show their support for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers union in their fight against deadly pesticides.

_____(This action)_____is part of thousands of similar activities at local supermarkets throughout the United States and Canada in support of Chavez's Fast for Life and the UFW's boycott of California table grapes. The farm workers are asking for contracts with grape growers to ban the use of five deadly pesticides, to guarantee free and fair elections and good faith bargaining, and to establish a UFW-grower program for testing for pesticide residues on grapes sold in supermarkets.

The Fast for Life began at midnight July 16 when UFW President Cesar Chavez began a water-only fast in response to the dangers generated by the reckless use of deadly pesticides. Chavez ended his fast 36 days later when he broke bread with Ethel Kennedy at an outdoor Mass in Delano, California on Sunday August 21.

At that time the farm labor leader gave Rev. Jesse Jackson a small wooden cross symbolizing the passing on of "the Fast for Life to hundreds of concerned men and women throughout North America and the world who have offered to share the suffering." The Fast for Life has continued to be passed on from person to person and has focused international attention on the problems caused by the reckless use of pesticides in California's agricultural areas.

In a statement read for him by one of his sons, Chavez said, "The fast will go on in hundreds of distant places and it will multiply among thousands and then millions of caring people until every poisoned grape is off the supermarket shelves."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CESAR CHAVEZ' STATEMENT AT THE END OF THE FAST

August 21, 1988

My heart is too full and my body too weak to read this message. So I have asked my oldest son, Fernando, to read it to you.

I thank God for the love and support of my family as well as for the prayers and hard work of the members and staff of our Union. I am grateful to the many thousands of people who came to be with me and for the millions who have kept me in their prayers and who have taken up our cause in their own communities. They have opened up their hearts, not just to me, but to the farm workers and the families who suffer from the unrestrained poisoning of our soil, our water, our air and our people.

Many generous people have traveled long distances to be here during the fast. It is especially meaningful to me and all farm workers to have Ethel Kennedy and her children here on this day. Twenty years ago Bobby Kennedy stood with us when few had the courage to do so. We will always carry him in our hearts.

Today I pass on the fast for life to hundreds of concerned men and women throughout North America and the world who have offered to share the suffering. They will help carry the burden by continuing the fast in front of their local supermarkets.

The fast will go on in hundreds of distant places and it will multiply among thousands and then millions of caring people until every poisoned grape is off the supermarket shelves. And the fast will endure until the fields are safe for farm workers, the environment is preserved for future generations, and our food is once again a source of nourishment and life.

UNITED FARM WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
c/o District Council 1707, AFSCME
75 Varick Street, 14th Floor
New York, NY 10013
(212) 219-0022

August 4, 1988

Contact: Irv Hershenbaum
(212)-219-0022

For release: Immediately

CESAR CHAVEZ' "FAST FOR LIFE" ENTERS 19th DAY

Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is on a water-only fast that enters its 19th day today. His fast seeks to draw attention to the toxic chemicals used on grapes that poison farm workers and endanger the environment.

A picket line in solidarity with Cesar Chavez was held at noon in front of the Food Emporium on 215 Park Avenue South in New York City. Local community and labor activists held signs that said, "Don't Buy Poison Grapes".

Coinciding with the New York picket line was a press conference held in California by Kennedy family members, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, Kerry and Douglas Kennedy that urged support for the boycott of California table grapes. Earlier in the week, comedian Dick Gregory visited Chavez and stated, "We must stop these poisonous pesticides before its too late."

The UFW kicked off a "Non-Cooperation with Supermarkets" campaign aimed at supermarkets who continue to sell and profit from California table grapes. Mailings are being sent to tens of thousands of New York area activists to distribute "Action Kits" which explain how to confront local markets about the dangers of pesticides used on grapes. These kits are available from the UFW Boycott Office, La Paz, California 93570, according to UFW organizers.

Already fifteen California supermarkets have removed grapes from their shelves. In New York City, four Co-op supermarkets have voted to refrain from purchasing any California table grapes. Cesar Chavez in a statement called on "friends everywhere to begin a great movement of non-cooperation with supermarkets to resist in many non-violent acts the presence of California table grapes in the stores where they shop."

Demonstrations and vigils are scheduled to take place in Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

-30-

Lesson Title:
Nelson Mandela, César E. Chávez, and Nonviolence

Grade Level: Grade Ten Lesson 3

Unit of Study: Post WWII

History-Social Science Standard:

10.10 Students analyze the instances of nation building in the contemporary world in Africa.

10.10.3 3 Discuss the important trends in the regions today and whether they appear to serve the cause of individual freedom and democracy.

Setting the Context:

Students should have basic background knowledge on imperialism in Africa prior to World War II. This should include the idea of British control in Africa and the fight for South Africa. Britain handed over control and gave South Africa its independence in 1910. The Union of South Africa was formed with a government that only recognized the rights of whites and denied these same rights to blacks. This became legislated as the Apartheid Policy.

In the midst of this transition to freedom, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912. Its aim was to bring all Africans together as one people and to defend their rights and freedoms. Nelson Mandela would join this group in 1944 as a young leader of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL). He and other leaders of the group based their ideas on African nationalism. The Youth League aimed to involve the masses by militant means if necessary. Mandela's words at the time were "The struggle (for freedom) is my life."

Nelson Mandela held many positions within the ANC: ANCYL Secretary (1948); ANCYL President (1950); Deputy National President (1952), and ANC President (1991). During the 1950s, he was one of the accused in the Treason Trial. The government arrested 156 political leaders, including Mandela, in a mass police swoop on December 5, 1956 and charged them with high treason, which carried the death penalty. They were accused of participating in a treasonable conspiracy, inspired by international Communism, to overthrow the South African State by violent means. The trial dragged on for four years, with the last accused being acquitted in 1961.

One of the most pivotal occurrences in South African History that had an effect on Mandela occurred at Sharpeville in 1960. Protesters were fighting the idea of needing passes to travel anywhere. Marchers continued to gather all day and 10,000 or more men, women, and children proceeded to the local police station - chanting freedom

songs and slogans. When the marchers reached Sharpeville`s police station, a heavy contingent of police was lined up outside. The march leaders asked the white policeman in command to let them through so that they could surrender themselves for refusing to carry passes. Initially the police commander refused but much later, they were let through. The chanting of freedom songs was picking up and the slogans made it more of a festive mood rather than a confrontational one. However, shortly after the leaders had been let through into the police station, without warning, the police opened fire and within two minutes bodies lay on the ground. Sixty-nine men, women, and children lay dead with nearly 200 injured.

Following the massacre, the ANC was banned and Mandela was detained until 1961. Eventually that year, he went underground to raise the call for a new national convention. Under Mandela's leadership, the military wing of the ANC was also born that year and launched a sabotage campaign against the government.

Mandela left the country in 1962 for military training in Algeria. Upon his return to South Africa, he was arrested for illegally leaving the country. He was tried and convicted in 1962 and sentenced to serve five years in prison. While serving his time, he was also given a life sentence for sabotage in the Rivonia trial. Transferred to the Robben Island prison, Mandela created a climate in which political education for himself and his fellow inmates took place.

Often during his time in prison, Mandela was asked to renounce violence and compromise his own political principles. P. W. Botha offered Mandela his freedom if he would do so, but Mandela refused. It was not until his release in February 1990 that Mandela would agree to end the armed struggle.

The climax of Mandela's rise to power came when he became the first democratically elected President of South Africa in May 1994. In his inauguration speech at Cape Town on May 9, 1994, Mandela speaks of a new South Africa.

> *We have fought for a democratic constitution since the 1880s. Ours has been a quest for a constitution freely adopted by the people of South Africa, reflecting their wishes and their aspirations. The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community, or gender among South Africans. In honouring those who fought to see this day arrive, we honour the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst them Africans, Coloureds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews - all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country ...*
>
> *This democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and will not be able govern the country as it pleases. Democracy is based on the majority principle. This is especially true in a country such as ours where the vast majority has been systematically denied their rights. At the*

same time, democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded.

This was to be a new South Africa and Mandela was to be its leader. Mistakes would be made, as Mandela would himself admit, but the progress of South Africa during this time was remarkable. Mandela summarized his feelings on the accomplishments of South Africa's first democratic government in a speech at the end of his administration. He said,

> *We have brought peace to our country. Our people are united around a sense of common destiny as never before. Basic services are being delivered to all sectors of our population, to millions for whom they had been a mere dream.*
>
> *Above all, we have made great progress in restoring the dignity of all our people. No matter where one goes in the world today, one is proudly and warmly received as a South African, whatever one's colour.*
>
> *Our successful second democratic elections demonstrated once more the strength of our nationhood and the depth of our people's commitment to democracy. This time around, the differences and tensions had more to do with technicalities and procedures than with the essence of our political order and our nationhood.*
>
> Speech at the National Awards Ceremony
> June 10, 1999

Focus Questions:

How do people change over their life times?

What conditions cause people to change?

Is it ever acceptable to use violence?

If not why not, if so when and why?

Expected Learning Outcomes:

Students will trace the history of the ANC and compare it with the history of the UFW. Students will compare and contrast the attitudes of César E. Chávez and Nelson Mandela toward violence and civil rights. After comparing and contrasting these attitudes, students will evaluate the effectiveness of both methods.

Assessment:

Students will create a time line, three-dimensional if possible, of the ANC and the UFW. Using the time lines and additional information, students will create a thematic compare and contrast poster of the attitudes of César E. Chávez and Nelson Mandela toward violence and civil rights. Students will either write an essay or orally present their evaluation of both men's methods.

Key Concepts:

Civil Rights
democracy
violence
nonviolence
organizing
historical development of ideas

Essential Vocabulary:

Apartheid
African National Congress (ANC)
Democracy
domination
exploitation
indignation
Indunas Sjambokking
massacre
policy
P. W. Botha
sabotage
Sharpesville
suppress
treason

Primary Sources:

- Speeches from Nelson Mandela or at Appendix A and Appendix B. Other speeches by Nelson Mandela can be found at http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/index.html

- Speeches from César E. Chávez - attached and at http://chavez.scientech.com/teachers/Lessons/resources/documents/8-13_Speeches_Statements_1968-71_f.pdf Other speeches can be found at http://chavez.scientech.com:8080/research under documents and then in the speech folder.

Visuals:

- Pictures of Nelson Mandela can be found at the African National Congress Web site at http://www.anc.org.za/

- Picture of César E. Chávez Fasting is attached or can be found on the CDE Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com/teachers/Lessons/resources/pictures/cec15.jpg

Procedure

Motivation:

Have the students write a time line from their date of birth to the present. Have them write down significant items that have taken place in their lives during that time and place it on the time line. Secondly, have them answer these questions in order.

1) What changes in your life have occurred in the past three years?
2) What changes in your life have occurred in the past six years?
3) What do you think caused these changes?

Have students share their short time lines on the board and discuss their responses to the questions above.

Go back to focus question one and two. How would this happen to people like Nelson Mandela and César E. Chávez?

Making Connections:

Changes are occurring in the world all of the time. Have students write in newspaper headline style the significant changes that occurred during the past year in South Africa, the world, the United States, and in the student's own area. Have the students make the headlines and place them around the classroom demonstrating that things around them change all of the time.

Vocabulary Activities:

Have students write the vocabulary terms found within the readings of this unit and then create their own crossword puzzle for the terms. Have students exchange the puzzles within the class.

Guided Instruction:

1) Do the Motivation from above.

2) Do the Making Connections exercise.

3) Relate the context of Nelson Mandela's life above or copy to the students and have them read or follow along themselves.

4) After reading about the life of Nelson Mandela, have students note or write down the key points of his life. This will be used later in comparing him to César E. Chávez.

5) Have the students, individually or in groups, go to the attached biography of César E. Chávez and trace the history of the forming of the UFW.. It can also be found on the CDE Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com/Teachers/Lessons/Resources/Biographies/High_School_Biography.htm Students can also visit the UFW Web site for additional information at ufw.org. Have them form a preliminary time line of the events.

6) Have the students do the same for the African National Congress by visiting their Web site at http://www.anc.org.za/

7) Students will then create a three-dimensional time line combining the two time lines and write a brief comparison of the history of the two organizations based upon the time line. Teachers will note beginning dates, important people, when they became involved, and key events (example: Sharpeville, Delano).

8) Students will then read Appendix A and Appendix B to this Lesson Plan for Nelson Mandela's view on violence and nonviolence. There are other excellent articles written by Mandela that appear on the ANC Web site. It is important to note the dates and the changes that occur in Mandela's view over time. Thus, going back to the motivation exercise. To condense the reading, teachers may want to only cut and paste those items bolded in Appendix A. Teachers may also want to spread the reading out and divide it up for individuals or groups and use the bolded text as the guide for Appendix A.

9) Once read, teachers should discuss the following:

   a. What were the problems noted in Appendix A?
   b. How did Nelson Mandela propose to solve the problems?
   c. Can they relate any of those to farm workers during César E. Chávez's time?
   d. After reading Appendix B, did they see any change in Mandela's attitude? If so, how?
   e. What do you think caused the changes?

10) Have the students go to the Chávez CDE Web site at http://chavez.scientech.com:8080/research to search for articles by or on Chávez and nonviolence. Submit "nonviolence" into the search engine.
   - Have the students do the same as they did with Mandela's articles.

11) Students will complete the assessment part from above. Students will create a thematic compare and contrast poster of the attitudes of César E. Chávez and Nelson Mandela towards violence and civil rights. Students will either write an essay or orally present their evaluation of both men's methods.

Enrichment:

1) Students can gain more understanding of the formation of the ANC by reading its history and exploring its Web site.

2) Go to the Mandela Web site and write a letter to Nelson Mandela.

3) Research the various acts that the South African government imposed between 1950-1994 against the ANC.

4) Research P. W. Botha and FW DeKlerk and their positions regarding the ANC and apartheid.

5) View movies, like *Cry Freedom*, that relate the struggles of South Africa and apartheid.

Integrating Language:

1) Pre-reading skills will activate prior knowledge through classroom discussion. Active discussion will be used in reviewing the primary source documents.

2) Speaking and listening skills will also be used when students share their answers while discussing Mandela and Chávez and their attitudes toward nonviolence.

3) Compare and contrast skills will be enhanced in the development of the compare and contrast charts and essays.

"Burning with a Patient Fire:" The Legacy of César Estrada Chávez

A Biography for the Development of César Chávez Curriculum For Public Schools, Grades K-12

by

Richard Griswold del Castillo
San Diego State University

August 2001

Let the Spirit flourish and grow;
So that we will never tire of the struggle.
Let us remember those who have died for justice;
For they have given us life.
Help us love even those who hate us;
So we can change the world.[1]

César E. Chávez

"Here was César, burning with a patient fire, poor like us, dark like us, talking quietly, moving people to talk about their problems ... We didn't know it until we met him, but he was the leader we had been waiting for."[2] In 1965 Luis Valdez, founder of the Teatro Campesino, sensed that César Chávez had the qualities that would lead him to become an internationally known leader in the struggle for economic and social justice for the poor and oppressed. Upon his death in 1993, César Estrada Chávez would be compared to Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela, and Mother Teresa--all contemporaries who shared his vision of a world free from suffering and exploitation. Indeed. the legacy of César Estrada Chávez is part of an emerging awareness that began in the last part of the twentieth century. This is the realization that the horrors of war, racism, and oppression can only be ended by a moral code based on nonviolence, love, service, and human compassion. The legacy of César Estrada Chávez is part of a worldwide movement that is working for social and economic justice.

César Chávez learned the values that guided him in his struggle to improve the lives of the poorest, the men, women, and children that worked in the agricultural fields. These values came from his cultural background, being a Mexican American born of Mexican parents. He was taught by his family, his friends, and through his own bitter experience. César believed in the importance of self-sacrifice for others, in respecting all races and religions, in the power of nonviolence, and in a divine soul and moral order for the universe. César rejected materialism as a solution to life's problems and he had a faith in essential goodness of all people. He fervently believed that justice was possible if people were informed about the truth.

César Estrada Chávez championed the struggles of all peoples to achieve a better life. His life story reminds us of the courage and sacrifice that it is necessary to bring about social change. We can learn from his example that any achievement of value comes with dedication, tremendous work, and, most of all, triumphal spirit.

Childhood

César Chávez's grandparents, Césario and Dorotea Chávez, came to the United States in the 1880s fleeing the grinding poverty and injustices of the hacienda system in Mexico. They settled near Yuma, Arizona where they established a freight business and homesteaded a quarter section of land. César's father, Librado, worked with his father on the farm until he was thirty-eight, when he married Juana Estrada. In time, Librado became a small businessman, running a grocery store, a garage, and a pool hall about 20 miles north of Yuma, Arizona. César Estrada Chávez was born there on March 31, 1927.

For Educational Use Only

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César and his sister standing outside their home.

When the Great Depression hit in 1929, the Chávez family was saved from unemployment by a large extended family that provided a built-in clientele for their business. In the midst of the depression, perhaps to increase the family's security, César's father decided to expand his business to include a forty-acre parcel surrounding the store. He took out a loan but soon was unable to make the payments and was forced to sell his store. After the loss of their business, the Chávez family moved in with César's grandmother, Mama Tella, about a mile away from their old store.

Chávez remembered life on his grandmother's farm as a secure and happy time, when he was surrounded by people who influenced his formation as a young man. The most important people in César Estrada Chávez's early life were his mother and father, and his grandmother, "Mama Tella." Librado taught César that men should expect to work hard to achieve their goals but they should also always have an open the heart towards others. César's father was a big man who had inherited the family farm and built several

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

businesses on the property. He believed in strict discipline and yet he was also affectionate and tender towards the children.[3] Librado also taught young César about farm workers unions. When the Chávez family was forced to leave their farm during the 1930s, César's father led them as migrant workers from field to field and when the wages were too low or the bosses abusive he led them to quit. Young César heard his father and other men talking about strikes at meetings that took place in his home and his father took him to union meetings where César helped clean up afterwards.

Chávez's mother helped shape his beliefs about nonviolence and morality. She spent a great deal of time with her four children telling them many *cuentos* (stories), *consejos* (advice), and *dichos* (sayings), all of which had a moral point. Chávez later remembered that "her sermons had a tremendous impact on me. I didn't know about nonviolence then, but after reading Gandhi, St. Francis, and other exponents of nonviolence, I began to clarify that in my mind. Now that I am older I see she is non-violent, if anybody is, by word and deed."[4] From his mother he learned about sacrifice and giving to others. During the height of the Great Depression she told the children to never turn a person away who asked for food.

Chávez's grandmother taught young César about the richness of their Catholic faith. During the hot summer nights she used to gather the grandchildren around her and tell them stories about the saints and the Bible. From her all the Chávez children grew up with a solid knowledge of their religion. She instilled a love of the rituals of the Catholic Church, the Sunday masses, Christmas and Easter obligations, and special feast days. All his life, César would rely on the spiritual strength he gained from attending Mass.

Chávez remembered his family's influence on his life:

"My mother always insisted that we share with people even when we kids objected because we were hungry ourselves. So I grew up with a very special feeling about the suffering of farm workers and with this faith that I received from my family and from the Church. It came naturally to us to hope for the future and to want to make things better in the world. It seemed so obvious that God wanted more equality and more justice, and that God expected people to work for these things."[5]

For Educational Use Only

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César and his sister are dressed for their First Holy Communion.

While living with Mama Tella on the 160 acres, César and the oldest children experienced their first racial discrimination in school. Like most Mexican American families in the pre-World War II era, they spoke Spanish exclusively at home. César's uncle taught him how to read Spanish by holding him on his lap and reading aloud from Mexican newspapers. But in the public school, Anglo-American students made fun of the Chávez children's accents and teachers punished them for speaking in Spanish. Chávez's school experiences typified those of hundreds of thousands of Mexican Americans in that era. "When we spoke Spanish, the teacher swooped down on us. I remember the ruler whistling through the air as its edge came down sharply across my knuckles." [6] In these early school years in Yuma, Chávez first encountered racism. Anglo children contemptuously called him a "dirty Mexican;" and when fights erupted between Anglos and Mexicans on the playground, the principal always sided with the Anglo kids.

On one occasion, when the teacher heard César describe himself as a Mexican, she insisted that he not use that word. She insisted that he was an American, not a Mexican. Confused, he asked his mother what all this meant. She explained that because he had been born in the United States he was an American citizen. "But I didn't known what 'citizen' meant. It was too complicated."

A Migrant Family

Young César's life, and that of his family, changed dramatically when they lost the family homestead forcing them to join the rural migrant stream flowing west to California. On August 29, 1937, because they were unable to pay back taxes, the State of Arizona took legal possession of their land, although they were allowed to remain there for another year in a vain attempt to raise the money to repurchase the farm. César was ten years old when the Sheriff came to force them off the property. Chávez remembered:

> **"My mother came out of the house crying. We children [César was 10 at the time] knew there was trouble, but we were confused, worried. For two or three days, the Deputy came back every day ... and [then] we had to leave. When we left the farm, our whole life was upset, turned upside down. We had been part of a very stable community, and we were about to become migrant workers. We had been uprooted."** [7]

When the Chávez family left Arizona in 1939, more than 250,000 migrants were in California, remnants of the dust bowl and farm failures of the 1930s. They were a multinational people: poor whites, "Okies and Arkies" from the Midwest, black tenant sharecroppers from the deep South, Mexican immigrants and Mexican American migrants from other southwestern states, dispossessed urban workers of every nationality. Despite their differences in language and background, they shared a daily struggle against insecurity, hunger, and fear.

The Mexican and black migrant agricultural workers confronted additional obstacles, racism and ethnic discrimination. Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants had to vie with others for seasonal work. Hardly anyone made the fine distinction of Chávez's grade school teacher. Mexicans, whether United States citizens, were considered "foreign" workers, not entitled to the same rights as "American" workers. Thus, racism played an important role in American business by dividing workers and keeping wages down. Generally, farmers preferred Mexican workers to others because of their reputed docility, and their eagerness to work supposedly made them better able to

withstand the fierce heat and backbreaking monotony of field work. The growers considered Mexicans a slave-like labor force. One grower expressed the class distinctions between the growers and their Mexican farm workers: "We protect our farmers here in Kern County. They are our best people. They are always with us. They keep the country going ... but the Mexicans are trash. They have no standard of living. We herd them like pigs." [8]

On the first night of their journey to California in the old family car, the Chávez family was stopped by a Border Patrol officer who suspected them of being undocumented Mexican immigrants. Although César's mother had lived in the United States since the age of five months, she did not speak English, and neither did several of his brothers and sisters. After five hours of grueling interrogation in the middle of the desert, the Border Patrol agents let the family go.

Others were not so fortunate. During the 1930s, about 500,000 Mexicans were repatriated or deported back to Mexico. "Repatriation" was a polite term for what happened: the majority of Mexican immigrants, whether in the U.S. legally or not, were cajoled, frightened, and intimidated by various federal and local officials into returning to Mexico. This was an attempt to lower the relief roles and to provide more employment for United States citizens by "getting rid of the Mexican." Many who left were U.S.-born, but had parents who like the Chávezes were long-term residents without papers. The most energetic repatriation campaigns took place in Texas and southern California, where the largest Mexican populations lived.

For the next ten years the Chávez family worked as farm laborers, moving from farm to farm up and down California and taking other odd jobs to supplement their income when there was no farm work. During this period, César encountered conditions he would dedicate the rest of his life to changing: wretched migrant camps, corrupt labor contractors, meager wages for backbreaking work, bitter racism.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Working the vegetable and fruit harvest in Brawley, next to the fields in Oxnard, and then up the San Joaquin Valley in the Fall following the cotton crop, the Chávez family was only one of 25,000 to 30,000 migrant families who were always on the move, frequently hungry, just barely able to earn enough money to buy gas to get to the next farm. In Oxnard, the Chávez family was homeless and had to spend the winter living in a tent that was soggy from either rain or fog. They used a 50-gallon can for a stove and tried to keep wood dry inside the tent. The children did odd jobs around town while the adults tried to find work. Moving north to the San Joaquin Valley, they stayed in labor camps where they lived in tiny tarpaper-and-wood cabins without indoor plumbing and with a single electric light. There were no paved streets, and in the winter the ground turned into a slippery quagmire.

These conditions were made worse by the exploitive labor contractors who frequently owned or managed the camps. The contractor would deduct the workers' rent from their pay, at exorbitant rates, and he usually operated a company store that charged sky-high prices for basic food and supplies. Contractors would over-recruit workers and then lower the announced wage. They would short-weight or short-count the sacks or boxes of produce and pocket the difference. They would make deductions for social security and not report them. Occasionally workers would have to buy their jobs; other contractors would demand sexual favors from female workers.

In 1942, César's father was involved in a car accident and could not work for a month. It was then that César decided to quit school after completing the eighth grade in Brawley, California. César and his older brother, Richard, and sister, Rita, went into the fields to support the family. They thinned lettuce and sugar beets and planted onions in the winter. They worked with the short-handled hoe, a backbreaking instrument. César recalled the inhuman job of thinning:

> **"I would chop out a space with the short-handle hoe in the right hand while I felt with my left to pull out all but one plant as I made the next chop. There was a rhythm, it went very fast ... It's like being nailed to a cross. You have to walk twisted, as you're stooped over, facing the row, and walking perpendicular to it. You are always trying to find the best position because you can't walk completely sideways, it's too difficult, and if you turn the other way, you can't thin."** [9]

Later, as a union leader, Chávez would lead the attack to outlaw the short-handled hoe, remembering it from his personal experience and because it caused permanent back injury to thousands of farm workers.

The ethnic prejudice that César encountered during this migrant period also shaped his life. When he was age eleven and living in Brawley, he and his brother went into a diner that had a sign, "White Trade Only" in the window. When they ordered a hamburger, the counter girl told them with a laugh, "We don't sell to Mexicans." Chávez left in tears, the memory of that laugh ringing in his ears "for 20 years—it seemed to cut us out of the human race."[10] On other occasions in the San Joaquin Valley, the Chávez family was rejected by Anglo merchants who refused to serve Mexicans. In 1944, in Delano where the family had established a winter base, César challenged the segregated theater system by refusing to sit in the Mexican section. The manager called the police, who dragged him to the police station and held him for about an hour.

From these experiences, César learned that segregation was an evil, making people feel excluded and inferior. As a result, one of the main tenants of his later organizing philosophy was that neither racial nor ethnic prejudice had a place within a farm workers union movement. Because of his experiences as a boy growing up in rural California, he would find common ground with the civil rights activists of the 1950s and 60s.

Chávez's migrant period also introduced him to strikes and labor unions. He remembered that he was in "the strikingest family in California" because this father would lead them in walking off jobs where he found them being cheated or exploited. During this period, his father joined several unions including the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU). By being caught up in strikes and union activities, César learned first hand of the difficulties of organizing farm workers, lessons that would help him later on.
In the 1948, along with several thousand Mexican workers, the Chávez family participated in a cotton strike the NFLU organized. One of the NFLU's Mexican American organizers was Ernesto Galarza, an author, sociologist, and labor expert with a Ph.D. from Columbia University. As a predecessor of César Chávez in organizing farm workers in California, Galarza also organized a consumer boycott against DiGiorgio table grapes. He pioneered the idea of organizing picket lines outside supermarkets to encourage mass support. Later, Galarza acted as an advisor to César during the early years of the UFW strike and boycott.

World War II and Marriage

During the 1940s, César was a young man and, like many Mexican American teenagers of his generation, he flirted briefly with the Pachuco life style. This distinctive subculture flourished among younger Mexican Americans who rebelled against their parents' conventional values. The Pachucos adopted their own music, language, and dress. The style was to wear a zoot suit, a flamboyant long coat, with baggy pegged pants, a pork-pie hat, a long key chain, and shoes with thick soles. It was a form of rebellion. César remembered, "When I became a teenager, I began to rebel about certain things--the home remedies and herbs my mother used, Mexican music, religious customs ... I also got into that trap of thinking (older people) were dull and uninteresting."[11]

When the United States entered World War II, César was working in the fields with his family in the San Joaquin Valley. During the off-season the Chávez family lived in the San Jose barrio of "Sal Si Puedes" (literally "get out if you can;" a phrase capturing the ironic humor of its seasonal residents). About the only way a Mexican youth could escape the barrio and the grinding toil of the fields was to join the armed services. Hundreds of thousands of Mexican American young men joined the military, motivated by patriotism, machismo, or poverty. Finally, in 1944 César joined the Navy, and like thousands of other Mexican Americans, he discovered another world. Arriving in San Diego for boot camp, he found that Mexicans were not the only persons discriminated against because of their nationality or language. He saw that discrimination continued in the Navy with Blacks, Filipinos, and Mexicans being given the lowest jobs. Chávez remembered: "I saw this white kid fighting, because someone had called him a Pollack and I found out he was Polish and hated that word Pollack. He fought every time he heard it. I began to learn something: that others suffered too." [12]

When César got out of the Navy in 1946, he returned to his family home in Delano and resumed work in the fields. César had been in the service for three years and had worked with his family in the fields for two years. He was twenty-one years old and ready to establish his own family. On October 22, 1948, César married Helen Fabela, whom he first had met at La Baratita Malt Shop in Delano when he was 15. Their courtship had taken place during harvest time when the Chávez family was in town.

At 21, César was five feet six; a slender, quiet man who seemed shy, almost inconspicuous, to those who met him. He could work long hours, having been conditioned by the monotonous toil in the fields. Darkened by the sun, he had jet-black hair and soft eyes that seemed always to be alert. In turn, Helen was a beautiful woman raised in a migrant farm worker family. Born in

Brawley in 1928 of Mexican *campesino* parents, she was descended from a family that had fought in the Mexican revolution. Her family, like César's, had become migrant workers during the 1930s and 40s. In the traditional Mexican manner, she was prepared to subordinate her own welfare to that of her family and husband. She became an important partner with César as he began to fulfill his dream of doing something to improve the lot of the farm workers.

For Educational Use Only

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César and his wife, Helen, early in their marriage.

After a brief honeymoon visiting the California Missions, César and Helen moved several times, working in the fields then moving to Crescent City where he worked in a lumber mill, and finally to San Jose where he worked in a lumber yard. Meanwhile, the Chávez family was growing. Eight children came rapidly: Fernando in 1949, Sylvia in 1950, Linda in 1951, Eloise in 1952, Anna in 1953, Paul in 1957, Elizabeth in 1958, and Anthony in 1959.

Ordinarily, the financial burdens of supporting this large family would have condemned César and Helen to repeating the cycle of poverty that trapped hundreds of thousands of farm worker families. But events transpired to shape César's life to be that of a community organizer and then the leader of what would become the nation's only successful farm labor union.

The Community Service Organization

César Chávez's introduction to organizing began in 1952 when he met Father Donald McDonnell, a Catholic priest trying to build a parish in the San Jose barrio of Sal Si Puedes. César's family regularly attended mass in the barrio church and he soon became Fr. McDonnell's friend and assistant, first doing some work for the small church, then helping with the masses at the *bracero* camps and the County jail. In the months that followed, César and Fr. McDonnell discussed the history of farm labor organizing in California and the Church's position on unions. At Fr. McDonnell's suggestion, César read the Papal Encyclicals on labor and books on labor history; the teachings of St. Francis of Assisi; and Louis Fisher's, Life of Gandhi. Fisher's biography made a deep impression on the young Chávez; so much so that he went on to read everything that was available about India's political and spiritual leader. Mahatma Gandhi's values struck a responsive cord that echoed in Chávez's experience. Gandhi spoke about the complete sacrifice of oneself for others, about the need for self-discipline and self-abnegation in order to achieve a higher good. These were values that Mexican farm workers could understand, not only in the life of Christ, but in their own family's experience. Especially important to Chávez's moral development were Gandhi's ideas on nonviolence; they echoed his mother''s admonitions and teachings. The philosophy of nonviolence later became a major theme in Chávez's leadership of the farm worker movement.

For Educational Use Only

Mahatma Gandhi

© 2001 www.arttoday.com

Another organizer at work in the Sal Si Puedes barrio was Fred Ross, sent to San Jose as an organizer for the Community Service Organization. The CSO was a Chicago-based community empowerment group that sought to train community leaders in poor neighborhoods to bring about social change. In California, the CSO was a Latino organization concerned with issues that affected the urban barrios: civil rights, voter registration, community education, housing discrimination, and police brutality. Fred Ross was a young organizer who had worked managing migrant labor camps during the depression. In the 1950s, he taught himself Spanish and worked for the CSO traveling to the major centers where Mexican Americans lived. When he got to San Jose, he asked Fr. McDonnell to provide him with a list of Mexican Americans who might be good leadership material. On the list was someone named César Chávez; so one afternoon in June 1952, Ross decided to visit his home.

César was not at home the first time Ross called, but he left word when he would return. Before Ross knocked at the door again, Chávez went across the street to his brother Richard's house to avoid him. Months before, several Anglo social scientists had gone around the barrio asking personal questions about the way that Mexicans lived; Chávez wanted no part of this nonsense. Besides, in the barrio, a visiting Anglo usually meant trouble. But Helen felt that this stranger might mean a job or something positive so she pointed Ross to where César was hiding. He crossed the street and knocked on the door; Ross talked to César about arranging for a house meeting with some of his friends so he could explain the ideas behind the CSO. Chávez agreed, but he also had a plan. "I invited some of the rougher guys I knew and bought some beer. I thought we could show this gringo a little bit of how we felt. We'd let him speak a while, and when I gave them the signal, shifting my cigarette from my right hand to the left, we'd tell him off and run him out of the house. Then we'd be even."[13]

But during the house meeting, Ross' sincerity genuinely impressed Chávez. Ross talked about local concerns as well as the CSO's advocacy of Mexican rights in police brutality cases. As a result, César never gave the signal, and instead he got rid of the few rabble rousers he had recruited. The meeting lasted two hours. César had been converted. That night Fred Ross wrote in his diary, "I think I've found the guy I'm looking for." [14]

For the next nine years, César Chávez worked with the CSO learning how to mobilize communities and developing friendships and experience that would help him in organizing farm workers. With the CSO, he first encountered the politics of anti-communism called 'red baiting.' This was a tactic to accuse

minority and progressive leaders of being communists in order to discredit them.

César became the chairman of the voter registration drive in San Jose and, working with Fred Ross, they obtained nearly 6,000 new voters. This new development led to a political confrontation with the Republican Central Committee, which feared a Democrat-controlled, Mexican American political bloc. When the Republicans decided to challenge first-time Mexican American voters at the polls, Chávez signed a letter addressed to the State Attorney General protesting the Republican intimidation tactics. In return, the Republicans began to accuse César of being a Communist. F.B.I. agents were summoned to interview him, and stories appeared in the local newspaper implying that he had been influenced by communists. As a result of this controversy, a few of San Jose's liberals--teachers, lawyers, social workers--began to support César and challenge the innuendos. While weathering the storm, César learned an important lesson: One has to fight back to achieve progress. The experience of fighting against City officials who wanted to prevent Mexican Americans from voting gave Chávez an introduction to the art of confronting institutionalized power.

All his work with the CSO was as a volunteer. César continued to work full time in the lumberyard and when he was laid off, he worked full time for the CSO. His first job was to establish a service center where he could help people with their daily problems. In the process, he knew he would establish a network of people who felt obligated to the CSO. The experience of building the service center taught César an important lesson that became the foundation of his organizing style: Helping people and expecting their help in return was a way to build a strong organization. As he said later, "Once you helped people, most became very loyal. The people who helped us back when we wanted volunteers were the people who we had helped."[15]

Soon Ross promoted Chávez to be a full-time organizer paying him $35 a week. He was assigned to a voter registration drive in southern Alameda County in DeCoto (today Union City). After this successful drive, the CSO made him a statewide organizer and sent him to a series of small towns throughout the San Joaquin Valley: Hanford, Salinas, Visalia, and many others. The CSO increased his salary to $58 a week, but every two or three months he and his family had to move to a new assignment.
In the small rural town of Madera, Chávez encountered more anti-communist paranoia. He was working with a local Pentecostal preacher to get Protestant Mexicans in Madera to join the CSO. Using songs to rally people, the preacher and César were successful and got about 300 people to attend regular meetings. The local Mexican American middle class grew

fearful that this outsider was taking over their traditional power base. Soon they held a secret meeting of the CSO Executive Board to condemn Chávez as a communist. Chávez countered by calling a special meeting of the membership and replacing the board with farm workers, all of whom were Spanish-speaking and Protestant. The appeal to the workers for their support ended the power play and gave César another political lesson in organizing--the most important supporters are the everyday workers; the middle class cannot always be trusted to support grassroots organizing.

Farm Workers and the CSO

The CSO gave top priority to organizing urban Mexican Americans; farm workers were not on the agenda but César hoped that eventually they would be. In 1958, he finally got a chance to organize farm workers with the CSO when the organization sent him to Oxnard, California to support a local labor union strike among the lemon workers who were being hurt by illegal use of braceros. The Bracero Program had been started during World War II to help growers with labor shortages, allowing them to import contract farm laborers from Mexico. The growers liked the Bracero Program since they used braceros to break strikes and to lower wages, and they could dispose of them when they were done. The program lasted until 1965. . During the beginning of the farm worker movement, Cesar fought to dismantle the Bracero Program, cutting off the source of expendable cheap labor in order to organize more effectively.

When he arrived in Oxnard, César found that local residents were concerned about braceros taking their jobs. They thought that local residents should be given preference in hiring for agricultural jobs. In fact, the Bracero Program's regulations stipulated that the braceros could not be used to replace the local work force; there had to be a certified labor shortage. When Chávez began helping local residents to resolve the problem, he found a corrupt system that was controlled by the growers in league with state and federal officials. The growers falsely claimed the existence of labor shortages, then exploited the braceros by recruiting many more than were needed, giving them only occasional work at lower pay while charging them inflated prices for room and board.

Chávez decided to attack this injustice on many fronts. First, he got CSO and community members to apply for work every day with the Farm Placement Service and compiled records of their applications and rejections. Next, the CSO organized a boycott of local merchants to protest their support of the system and to pressure them to change it. Then César organized sit down strikes in the fields to challenge the hiring of braceros. The farm workers picketed a meeting of the Secretary of Labor James Mitchell, when he came

to Ventura for a talk. They marched with a banner depicting the Virgin of Guadalupe to protest the lack of jobs for local residents. They pressured the Farm Placement Service office with hundreds of complaints, and they lobbied the state government offices. The outcome of this intensive campaign was a brief victory. Finally, the state officials fired the Farm Service Placement director and some of his staff, and they started hiring hundreds of people who lined up outside the CSO headquarters every day.

The experience in Oxnard was pivotal for Chávez. He experienced tactics such as the boycott, the march, the use of religious images, and political lobbying. These strategies later became standard techniques during the many struggles of the United Farm Workers Union. He also realized where his life's work lay—in helping the powerless gain dignity.

After the Oxnard campaign, Chávez was reassigned to Los Angeles and appointed the National Director for the CSO. He and Helen moved to East Los Angeles and they continued with his organizing knowing that eventually the CSO would have to endorse working with farm workers or else he would have to leave.

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César and other Community Service Organization members prepare to "Get Out The Vote."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

While working with the CSO, César got to know key people who would be important for his work with the United Farm Workers union. One of the key people was Dolores Huerta who, when she joined the CSO, was a divorced housewife with several small children. An attractive woman originally from New Mexico, she was completing a college degree. She was outspoken even when her views differed from those of male leaders. This dynamic, intense, fast-talking, and alert woman was assertive and aggressive. She did not fit the traditional stereotypes of a Mexican mother. In the years that followed, however, she became an indispensable lobbyist and political leader within the farm workers movement.

Another CSO member who met Chávez during these years was Gilbert Padilla. He became one of the founding members of the farm workers union. Padilla joined the CSO after hearing Chávez talk one night about the problems of farm laborers and how they should work together to improve their conditions. The next week Gilbert traveled with Chávez when he spoke in the barrio.

Chávez served as the Executive Director of the CSO for two years. He hired both Padilla and Huerta as organizers. When César was working for the CSO in Los Angeles, he became familiar with big city problems and politics. In 1960, the CSO worked with the Viva Kennedy Clubs, a movement organized by the Democratic Party to register voters among the Spanish-speaking Catholics in the urban barrios. As the CSO Executive Director in Los Angeles, Chávez met and worked with the founders of Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA): Eduardo Quevedo and Bert Corona. They had established a political association in 1959 to advance the Chicano community's political interests in the state. The CSO, MAPA, and the Viva Kennedy Clubs in the early 60s became important training grounds for young Mexican Americans who were beginning to self-consciously call themselves "Chicanos," a slang term natives had used for decades to denigrate newly arrived Mexican immigrants.

Finally in 1962, the CSO had its annual convention in Calexico, California, a border town in the Imperial Valley and entry point for thousands of migrants from Mexico. During the convention, Chávez proposed that the CSO support a union movement for farm workers but to his disappointment the convention voted it down arguing that the CSO was not a labor organization. After this, César decided to resign and devote himself to building an independent farm workers union. Before his decision, he talked to Helen and she encouraged him. She remembered: "[César] did discuss it and say that it would be a lot of work and a lot of sacrifice because we wouldn't have any income coming in. But it didn't worry me. It didn't frighten me ... I never had

any doubts that he would succeed."[16]

Soon after César's resignation, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) offered him a salaried job as an organizer, but he turned them down because he wanted to work with "no strings attached." So in the summer of 1962, he, Helen, and their eight children traveled to Carpinteria Beach, near Santa Barbara, and took a brief camping vacation to plan their future. They had about $900 in savings, and César could draw unemployment insurance for a time. They decided to use Delano as a home base for organizing their union. There, Richard (César's brother) lived and was head of the local CSO and, if necessary, they could move in with him. Helen and César knew there was a permanent, year-round farm labor community in Delano. That could be a solid base for a farm worker organization.

Getting Started

For the next three years César visited hundreds of small labor camps and towns in the San Joaquin Valley trying to recruit members for a new farm workers union. Meanwhile, Helen got a job in Delano picking grapes, and, when he returned from his trip, César worked at a temporary job picking peas. They found a cheap rental on Kensington Street in Delano and César used the garage for his headquarters. Past failures of unions and strikes had made the farm workers afraid of unions so César decided to call his organization the Farm Workers Association to avoid using the term "union." He resolved to be patient and build a strong organization before challenging the agribusiness corporations.

Using his CSO training, Chávez decided to emphasize the service-providing functions of his organization. He traveled extensively, talking to the workers to see what they thought about a union and the services it should provide. Traveling out into the fields and into the camps and *colonias*, he passed out more than 80,000 questionnaires and talked to thousands of workers. César found them reticent to speak while in the fields, so he met with them at night, in house meetings, where they were more open about their feelings. Chávez organized a modest burial insurance program and a credit union to provide for members with financial emergencies. The funding for these projects came from the members themselves A little later, César and Helen set up a co-op to sell tires and auto supplies at cost. Helen began to work full time for the association as the accountant and administrator of the Credit Union. Soon the word spread that this new organization would help farm workers with a variety of practical problems such as nonpayment of wages, late welfare checks, claims for workman's compensation, and difficulties with the County hospital, with the schools, or with the INS.

Scores of farm worker families traveled to Delano to tell César of their plights. His house was available to them day or night, seven days a week.

By 1962, Chávez had begun to assemble a working team that functioned like a second family. One important addition was the Reverend Jim Drake. A Protestant minister who worked with the California Migrant Ministry (CMM), Drake was an intense young seminarian with a passion to reform the migrant working conditions. Because of the CCM, Chávez gained important staff members and economic support for his fledgling association. Reverend Drake became César's stern-faced, impatient, administrative assistant, traveling with him from town to town as they built the association.

César also recruited his cousin, Manuel Chávez, who was working as a car salesman in San Diego. Manuel had grown up with the Chávez family and had worked in the fields with them. César convinced Manuel to quit his job and to move to Delano on a trial basis for six months. After the six-month period, Manuel decided to stay, becoming one of César's closest associates for the next decade. César also talked Dolores Huerta into quitting her job with the CSO and moving to Delano where she and other union volunteers were fed and housed by farm worker families.

The union grew, nourished by personal sacrifice. Indeed, the Chávez family at times had to go without food and clothing to pay for union expenses. César and Manuel were reduced to asking barrio residents for food. They found that in accepting this humble hospitality, they created a bond of trust that brought in new members. In this way they met Julio Hernandez, a farm worker from a small *colonia* near Corcoran, who became the first full-time staff volunteer for the union.

The goal was to hold an organizing convention for the union. Together, César, his cousin Manuel, Jim Drake, Gil Padilla, Dolores Huerta, and Julio Hernandez worked through the summer of 1962, visiting house meetings to ask farm workers to send representatives to a meeting that would formally establish the UFWA. On September 30, 1962, about 150 delegates and their families came to an abandoned theater that Manuel had rented. The official name of the new organization was to be the National Farm Workers Association. The delegates likewise voted for the union's officers and elected César Chávez President and Executive Officer; Dolores Huerta and Gilbert Padilla became the Vice Presidents, and Antonio Orendian the Secretary-Treasurer. They voted to have dues of $3.50 a month, a considerable sacrifice for farm workers.

In one dramatic moment during the conference, Manuel Chávez unveiled a huge copy of the union flag that he had designed. At first the colors and the

symbol seemed too radical, too bold, too provocative. After some discussion, the representatives voted to accept the flag as the official emblem of the association, and they adopted the official motto, "*Viva la Causa.*" This slogan or "*grito*" eventually became universally known, echoing the aspirations of a new generation of Mexican Americans in the fields as well as urban barrios. It was a cry for justice long over due.

For Educational Use Only

Photo Copyright © Jocelyn Sherman

César with the UFW flag in the background.

In early 1965, the National Farm Workers Association had its first strikes, one by flower workers in McFarland and another of migrant workers to protest increases in their rent. Both strikes were relatively short and resulted in some success. César guessed that the union would not be ready for a sustained strike for another three or four years. He could not foresee that in September 1965 circumstances would force him and the new union to initiate the longest and most successful agricultural strike in American history.

The Grape Strike

The 1965 grape strike in Delano grew out of a protest by Filipino farm workers over wage inequities. They were being paid less than bracero workers. Early in the season, AWOC organized a strike to protest this and, after ten days, they won a raise for both Mexican American and Filipino workers. Later in the summer, the grape harvest moved north into the San

Joaquin Valley and growers continued to lower the rate for non-bracero workers. On September 8, 1965 in Delano, the AWOC Filipino members led by Larry Itliong began a strike against the local growers, demanding wage parity. Police began to harass the strikers, and growers evicted Filipinos from their labor camps. Those who were evicted asked César and the Farm Workers Association for support, and for a promise to respect their picket lines.

To decide whether to join the Filipinos on strike, Chávez called a meeting of the union members at Delano's Catholic Church's social hall on September 16th, Mexican Independence Day. That evening more than 500 farm workers and their families met in an emotional revivalist atmosphere. Chants of "Viva La Causa!" echoed before and after the speeches of various supporters for the strike. The hall was filled with people of all nationalities and races; Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Arabs, and Anglos, but Mexicans predominated. Chávez spoke at the meeting.

> **"You are here to discuss a matter which is of extreme importance to yourselves, your families and all the community. ...**
>
> **A hundred-and-fifty-five years ago, in the State of Guanajuato in Mexico, a Padre proclaimed the struggle for liberty. He was killed, but ten years later Mexico won its independence. ... We Mexicans here in the United States, as well as all other farm laborers, are engaged in another struggle for the freedom and dignity which poverty denies us. But it must not be a violent struggle, even if violence is used against us ... The strike was begun by the Filipinos, but it is not exclusively for them. Tonight we must decide if we are to join our fellow workers in this great labor struggle ..."** [17]

Other farm workers rose to speak and added their stories of misery and suffering to the call to join the strike. Representatives of various states in Mexico rose to pledge their support. Chávez explained the sacrifices they would have to make during a strike; the union did not have a strike fund, and it would be a long struggle. Nevertheless, the worker shouted again and again, *"Viva la causa! Viva César Chávez! Viva la union!"*

The Strike

The Delano grape strike covered a 400-square mile area and involved thousands of workers. The job of organizing picket lines to patrol the fields fell to inexperienced farm workers and urban volunteers who worked side by side. The sheer dimensions of the ranches and farms made it impossible to constantly maintain pickets at all the entrances. Inevitably, scab workers, who were hired to take the jobs of the strikers, found their way into the fields and the union had to find a way of convincing them to join the strike. The picket line then became a noisy place. The picketers cajoled, argued, pleaded, orated, and shamed the field workers in Spanish, Tagalog, and English trying to get them to join the strike. Picketers walked the dusty borders of the fields holding hand painted signs saying "Huelga," "Delano Grape Striker," "Victoria!" accompanied by the NFWA black eagle. As always, they were closely observed by the police ready to arrest those entering the ranch property. Usually the ranch foreman and his staff would harass the strikers, revile them with oaths and foul language, try to provoke them into crossing over onto ranch property. Later, the growers hired goons, recruited from the cities, to intimidate the strikers. Violence was a constant possibility and frequent occurrence. Ranch foremen raced their pickup trucks up and down the lines at top speed. They drove their tractors between the pickets and the fields to choke them with dust. They sprayed them with chemicals and intimidated them with shotguns and dogs. Sometimes they succeeded in injuring strikers, but when someone got hurt on the picket line, it often had the effect of provoking a sympathy walk out by their own workers. The police almost never intervened to protect the picketers. They photographed the strikers and copied license plate numbers of the picketers' cars. They arrested picketers for disturbing the peace when they shouted "Huelga!" The police were clearly in support of the growers.

During the early days of the strike, hundreds of volunteers descended on Delano to participate in the strike. Many were clergy, responding to the message of the new liberation theology. Churchmen from the Migrant Ministry arrived and reported that there was growing church support for the strike Priests from barrio parishes came to offer help from the inner city. Father Victor Salandini volunteered to be a lobbyist in Washington D.C. Other volunteers who offered their services as legal consultants and public relations experts. The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality sent messages of support and eventually volunteers. César was concerned when Chicano activists began arriving and tried to convert the farm worker movement into a movement of *La Raza*, promoting a Chicano political agenda. In his words, "...When you say *la raza* you are saying an anti-gringo thing, and our fear is that it won't stop there.

For Educational Use Only

Photo copyright © Manuel Echavaria

Strikers in the field in the early morning during the 1973 grape strike.

will be anti-Filipino, anti-Puerto Rican. And then it will be anti-poor Mexican, and anti-darker-skinned-Mexican.... On discrimination, I don't even given the members the privilege of a vote, and I'm not ashamed of it. No. The whole business of discrimination can't exist here."[18]

One of the early student volunteers to join the strike was a young Chicano from the bay area named Luis Valdez. Originally from Delano, he had grown up in a migrant family but had escaped from the fields to the city and became a university student and member of the San Francisco Mime Troupe. He brought a creative energy to Delano that soon resulted in the organization of El Teatro Campesino (The Farm Workers Theater). Valdez had the idea of using simple one-act skits, called actos, to educate farm workers about the union and the issues involved in the strike. The Teatro, performing on the back of a flat bed truck in the fields, was an effective way of reaching farm workers. The actos were improvisations that dramatized, often in uproariously funny and ironic ways, the lives and struggles of field workers. In Delano, Valdez set up Centro Campesino Cultural, a Farm Worker Cultural Center, to teach migrant children about their Mexican heritage through art, music, dance, and teatro. Luis stayed with the UFW for several years and then moved his group to San Juan Bautista where they continued to produce plays and movies. Ultimately, Valdez broke into Hollywood with his stage production of "Zoot Suit" and the movie "La Bamba."

César's main activity during the early months of the strike was to travel around the state to the various college campuses to give speeches and galvanize support for the striking farm workers. Chávez's speaking style had changed very little from his CSO days. He was not an emotional speaker. He convinced students to support the union through his sincerity, humility, and command of the facts about the struggle between the farm workers and the growers. His "low key" approach was disarming in an age of radical and flamboyant rhetoric. Chávez spoke about how the farm workers were fighting for their civil rights and economic justice. The farm worker movement dovetailed with a growing national concern with civil rights.

Publicity became increasingly important when the union decided to launch a boycott to put pressure on the growers to recognize the union and sign contracts. They targeted the most identifiable grape products from the largest Delano growers, Schenley Industry, the DiGiorgio Corporation, S&W Fine Foods, and Treesweet. The success of the boycott depended on an informed and sympathetic consumer. In Chávez's eyes, the boycott would rely on the sense of justice of all people: "Our boycotts are predicated on faith in the basic compassion of people everywhere. We are convinced that when consumers are faced with a direct appeal from the poor struggling against great odds, they will react positively. The American people still yearn for justice. It is to that viewpoint and that yearning that we appeal."[19]

Nonviolence, a Pilgrimage, and a Victory

From the beginning of the strike, Chávez emphasized the importance of nonviolence as a strategy. He exhorted the volunteers and picketers: "Non-violence is more powerful than violence. We are convinced that non-violence supports you if you have a just and moral cause. Non-violence gives the opportunity to stay on the offensive, which is of vital importance to win any contest." [20] Chávez's faith in nonviolence came from his mother's influence, his religious faith, and his self-education in reading Gandhi and other pacifists. In 1965, nonviolence was a practical tactic for rallying national support for a labor strike. Nonviolence was an important characteristic of Martin Luther King's leadership of the civil rights movement, and it was fast becoming a tactic of the anti-war movement, although in both these cases nonviolent protests would increasingly escalate into violent confrontations. For Chávez, nonviolence meant time consuming organization and training. He used Gandhi's phrase "moral jujitsu" to describe its effect on the opposition. Chávez's commitment to nonviolence became stronger and deeper as the years progressed — more a personal article of faith, more spiritual, almost an end in itself. He told a gathering of farm workers during

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the strike: "We are engaged in another struggle for freedom and dignity with poverty denies us. But it must not be a violent struggle, even if violence is used against us. Violence can only hurt our cause." [21]

On March 17, 1966, Chávez and a group of farm workers began a 300-mile march from Delano to Sacramento intending to dramatize the grape strike and get wider support. Besides its practical political and publicity value, the idea of the march was linked to sacrifice and the Mexican concept of "peregrinacion" or a religious pilgrimage. In Chávez's terms, "this was an excellent way of training ourselves to endure the long, long struggle. ... This was a penance more than anything else—and it was quite a penance, because there was an awful lot of suffering involved in this pilgrimage, a great deal of pain." [22] In the spirit of the Lenten season, the march became a religious pilgrimage. It was planned to end on Easter Sunday.

Chávez marched with the procession as it left Delano. Filipino, Mexican, Black, and Anglo members joined in enthusiastically. They carried the American and Mexican flags, the NFWA and AWOC banners, and a flag with the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The march helped recruit more members, and it spread the spirit of the strike. As they passed through each small farming town in the San Joaquin Valley, hundreds of workers greeted them. Others joined the march and carried the flags to the next town. At night they had rallies with music, singing, speeches, and a dramatic reading of "El Plan de Delano" that Luis Valdez had composed. The march generated spirit. The occupants of passing cars would wave and honk if they supported the boycott and strike. Supporters of the growers would curse and make obscene gestures. Overall, there were hundreds of touching incidents of local support. In one town, a man with his daughters gave the marchers a drink of punch from a beautiful crystal bowl with cups. People working in the fields as the marchers passed by gave up their jobs and joined the procession.

By the time the marchers had reached Stockton, a few days from their goal, there were more than 5,000 marchers singing, chanting, and waving as they walked. That night Chávez got a call from Sidney Korshak, a representative of Schenley Corporation, who said that he wanted to talk about signing a contract. César thought it was a joke and hung up. But Korshak called back, and they arranged a meeting in Beverly Hills the next day. After driving all night to get there, César found himself in Korshak's home with representatives from the AFL-CIO and the Teamsters union. After some discussion, Korshak agreed to a recognize NFWA and sign a contract. The agreement was made public and in a triumphant mood, the pilgrimage ended a few days later on the steps of the State Capitol. They had won their first victory and demonstrated the power of their cause.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For Educational Use Only

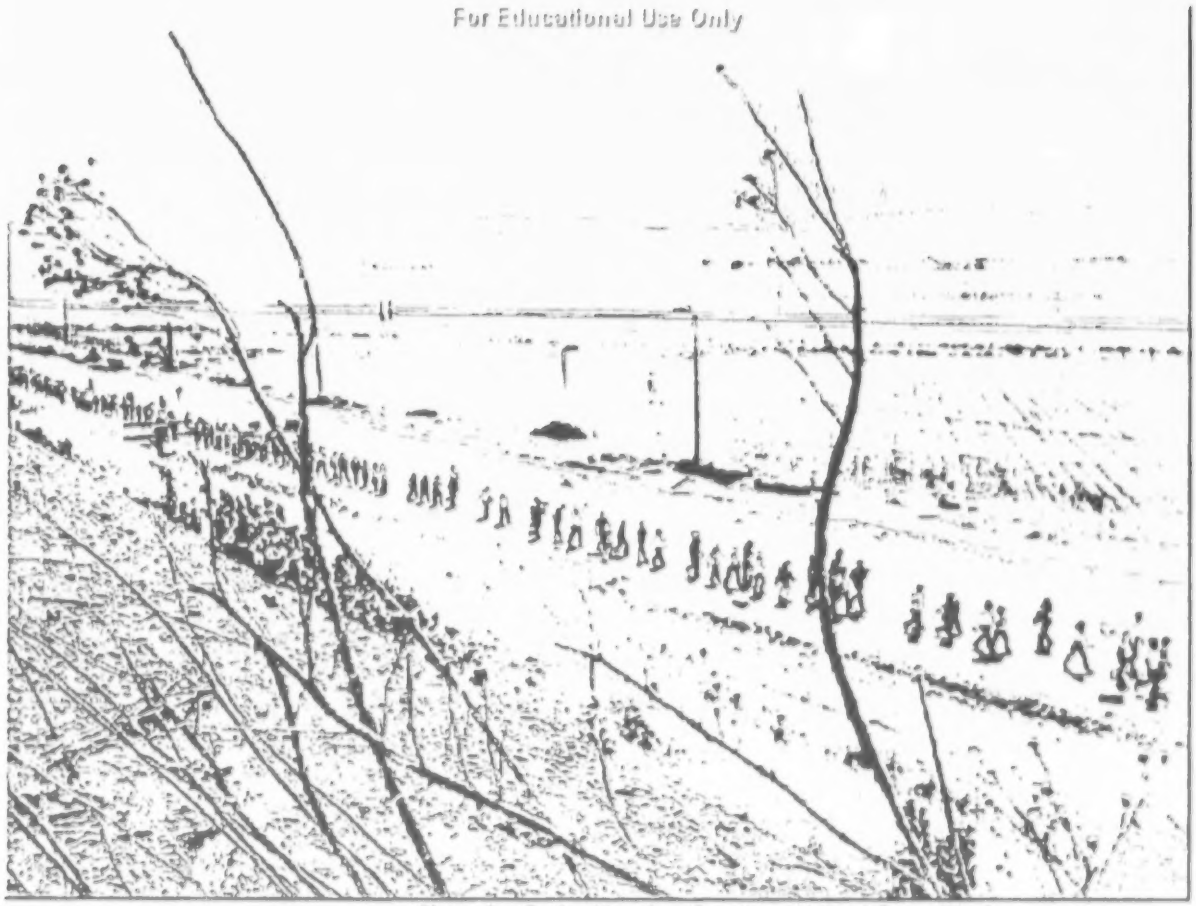


Photo by Cathy Murphy, Courtesy United Farm Workers

1000 Mile March from Santa Maria to Salinas during the summer of 1975.

This was the first time in American history that a grassroots farm labor union had gained formal recognition by a corporation. (Some years before, in Hawaii, the Longshoreman's Union had obtained a contract for pineapple workers.) Signing a contract recognizing the union meant that the corporation had to follow certain rules about hiring, conditions of work, pay, and the use of pesticides. After three years, however, the contract was due to expire and it would have to be renegotiated. This would usually mean a new struggle with the grower to force him to recognize the union. Nevertheless, the Schenley agreement was a historic first step.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Struggle Continues

The other large growers remained. The most important was the DiGiorgio Corporation. The DiGiorgios also had thousands of acres of pears, plums, apricots, and citrus trees and marketed their products under the S&W Foods and TreeSweet labels. Robert DiGiorgio, the patriarch of the family, was on the Board of Directors for the Bank of America. The DiGiorgio family had successfully broken strikes and unions since the 1930s.

Chávez was convinced of the power of the boycott and soon hundreds of volunteers who remembered the previous struggles against the DiGiorgios joined the boycott drive. Within a short time, the company agreed to enter into negotiations to have an election but Chávez broke them off when company guards attacked a picketer at Sierra Vista. When negotiations finally resumed, Chávez discovered that DiGiorgio had invited the Teamsters Union to recruit among vineyard workers. Thus, beginning in mid-1966, the two unions, the Teamsters and the NFWA, began an on and off jurisdictional fight that lasted more than ten years and resulted in violence, injury, and deaths.

About this time, in order to consolidate its power, the Filipino union, AWOC, and Chávez's NFWA formally merged to form one united union within the AFL-CIO. Under the final merger agreement a new organization, called United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) was formed with Chávez as the Director. Eventually it became the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, or simply the UFW. The UFWOC became a full member of the AFL-CIO and as a result received millions of dollars of emergency aid during the early years of struggle. This was the first time that a predominantly Mexican union had been incorporated within mainstream organized labor. Over the years the relationship proved to be mutually supportive and the UFW never seemed to be hampered in its independence of action.

From the beginning, César had not thought of La Causa as a movement that would not be motivated by appeals to race or nationality. When he had worked for the Community Service Organization, César had confronted the issue of Mexican chauvinism and had been uncompromising in fighting for the inclusion of Blacks within the organization. While the primary "core" leadership of the NFWA was Mexican American, the staff and hundreds of volunteer workers were predominantly Anglo American.

During they next four years, the UFWOC grew in strength, nourished by the support of millions of sympathetic Americans who sacrificed for the farm workers. Hundreds of student volunteers lived on poverty wages in the big

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

cities to organize an international boycott of table grapes. Scores of priests, nuns, ministers, and church members donated time, money, facilities, and energies to the farm workers' cause. Organized labor donated millions of dollars to the UFWOC strike fund. Millions of Americans gave up eating table grapes. All this was inspired by the example of César Chávez, the soft-spoken, humble leader who quietly worked to revolutionize grower-worker relations.

In 1967, the union moved from its cramped offices on Albany Street in Delano to new buildings on land they had purchased with the help of private donations and contributions from AFL-CIO affiliates. The new headquarters was located near the city dump on 40 acres of alkali land. Volunteers had built a complex of buildings including a service and administrative center, a medical clinic, and a cooperative gas station. It was called "The Forty Acres." It became the center of the farm workers union movement in California for the next three years until the union moved its headquarters to Keane, a small town just outside of Bakersfield.

On April 1, 1967 the newspapers announced the signing of a union contract between DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation and the UFWOC. The contract contained wage increases for workers and set up a special fund for health and welfare benefits. It provided for unemployment compensation and specified that hiring would be done through the union labor hall. UFWOC strikes continued against other Delano growers and by October seven new wineries had signed contracts with the union.

In 1968, during one of the strikes against Guimarra Corporation, César began a fast to protest the mounting talk of violence. In characteristic fashion, he began the fast without telling anyone. He did not know how long it was going to last. On the fourth day, he decided to hold a meeting of the strikers to announce his intentions. "I told them I thought they were discouraged, because they were talking about short cuts, about violence. They were getting so mad with the growers, they couldn't be effective anymore."[23]

After the meeting with the membership, Chávez walked to The Forty Acres. He set up his monastic cell in the storage room of the service station with a small cot and a few religious articles. Soon hundreds of farm worker families began appearing at The Forty Acres to show their support for Chávez and to attend the daily mass that he attended. A huge tent city with thousands of farm workers sprang up surrounding the gas station. There was a tremendous outpouring of emotion during the masses. Daily hundreds stood in line to meet and talk to Chávez.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The national media helped make the 1968 fast a major event. As the fast went into its twentieth day, letters of support came from congressmen and senators, union and religious leaders. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. sent telegrams supporting César. In one, he said, "Our separate struggles are really one. A struggle for freedom, for dignity, and for humanity."[24] Another read, "I am deeply moved by your courage in fasting as your personal sacrifice for justice through non-violence. Your past and present commitment is eloquent testimony to the constructive power of non-violent action and the destructive impotence of violent reprisal." [25] Dr. King was assassinated a month later. Robert F. Kennedy, who had not yet decided to run for nomination for the Presidency, also sent a telegram expressing concern for his health. Chávez would not let a doctor examine him because he felt that "Without the element of risk, I would be hypocritical. The whole essence of penance ... would be taken away." [26] When Chávez finally decided to end his fast on the twenty-fifth day, he asked Robert F. Kennedy to attend. On March 11, 1968, they held a mass at a County park with more than 4000 farm workers in attendance along with national reporters from the major papers and television networks. The mass was said on the back of a flat bed truck. César was too weak to stand and he could not speak, but Jim Drake read a message he had written earlier. It was a powerful expression of his spiritual commitment.

> **Our struggle is not easy. Those who oppose our cause are rich and powerful, and they have many allies in high places. We are poor. Our allies are few. But we have something the rich do not own. We have our own bodies and spirits and the justice of our cause as our weapons.**
>
> **When we are really honest with ourselves, we must admit that our lives are all that really belong to us. So it is how we use our lives that determines what kind of men we are. It is my deepest belief that only by giving of our lives do we find life.**
>
> **I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for other. God help us to be men!"**[27]

Over the years Chávez engaged in many other fasts, each one for a specific purpose. His followers soon learned the depth of his commitment to the principle of nonviolence so that to violate that code was to personally affront

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

César. For the most part, his followers remained nonviolence because of Chávez's moral authority.

For Educational Use Only

Photo by John Kouns, Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César breaking his fast with Robert Kennedy,
UFW supporters, his wife Helen, and his mother Juana.

In the late spring of 1969, the grape harvest was about to begin. To rally support for the strike and boycott César decided to organize a march through the heart of the Coachella and Imperial Valleys to the U.S.-Mexican border. One of the primary purposes of the march was to dramatize the growers' use of undocumented immigrants from Mexico as strike-breakers. On May 10, 1969, César began the march with an outdoor mass celebrated in a labor camp in Indio. As in the 1966 march to Sacramento, the Coachella pilgrimage was a tremendous organizing tactic. Hundreds of farm workers and supporters joined in the colorful procession. Reverend Ralph Abernathy, the heir of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s movement, joined the march on the eighth day, pledging the support of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Walter Mondale, a liberal Senator from Minnesota who would be a future Presidential candidate, joined the march along with famous Hollywood actors and Chicano student activists. The march dramatized the strike to hundreds of Mexican workers who were in the fields as the marchers passed. In the evening masses, speeches and teatros educated

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

them about the issues involved. The march lasted nine days and ended in Calexico, the border town across from Mexicali, Baja California where Chávez gave a speech calling for Mexican workers to join the strike and support the UFWOC.

Photo by Manuel Echevarria

Mexican-U.S. border, 1972. César was trying to organize south of the border so that farm labors would be paid the same on both sides of the border when working for the same company.

By 1969 Chávez had expanded the boycott to include all California table grapes. Throughout the country, volunteers were picketing super markets that sold grapes. Shipments of California table grapes practically stopped to the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Montreal, and Toronto. Grape sales fell while millions of pounds rotted in cold storage sheds. In reaction, the growers filed a lawsuit charging that they had lost more than $25 million since the beginning of the boycott. In desperation, they turned to the Teamsters and held meetings to try to work out a contract that would bring peace to the fields. However, Teamsters were leery of entering the fields againm given their previous experience when the growers had reneged on a sweetheart deal when the pressure had become too great.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Despite the support of the Department of Defense for grape purchases, the boycott pressures began to be unbearable and, gradually in the late Spring of 1969, some influential growers in the Coachella valley came to the negotiating table and signed contracts with the UFW. By June 1970, the majority of table grape growers who were still resisting unionization were in the Delano area. Finally, through the intermediaries of a committee organized by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 23 companies, including Guimarra, agreed to begin negotiations to recognize the UFW.

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

César signing an important farm workers-growers agreement while many union supporters watch with reporters from radio stations and newspapers.

On July 29, 1970, 26 Delano growers filed into Reuther Hall on The Forty Acres to formally sign contracts. César gave a short speech recalling the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

sacrifices that so many had made to make this moment possible and they signed the historic agreement. The contract raised the workers wages to $1.80 per hour. In addition, the growers would donate 10 cents per hour to the Robert Kennedy Health and Welfare Fund. The contract provided for all hiring to be through the union hiring hall and for the protection of workers from certain pesticides. The victory in Delano now meant that almost 85 percent of all table grape growers in California were under a union contract. This was victory without precedent in the history of American agriculture. Never before in history had an agricultural workers union managed such a sweeping success.

The Lettuce Strike and the Teamsters

There were indications that the farm workers were facing another formidable challenge, this time from the Teamsters and growers in the Salinas Valley, who were conspiring to undercut the UFW's newly won recognition.

Several times before, the Teamsters organization had threatened to expand their operations to organize field workers. In 1970, the Teamsters and the UFW were both members of the AFL-CIO so this announcement by the Teamsters amounted to a raid on the UFW's jurisdiction. The Teamsters had signed sweetheart contracts giving the vegetable growers almost all that they wanted while sacrificing workers benefits. There was plenty of evidence of collusion. The Teamsters had signed the contracts without even negotiating wage rates for the workers.

Quickly, Chávez moved to counter. He and the rest of the staff moved the headquarters of the union to Salinas and began organizing a strike. He traveled to the AFL-CIO convention in Chicago and attempted, with no success, to get the national organization to publicly condemn the Teamsters. Throughout the month of August, César had worked to keep the pressure on the growers with Teamster contracts by selective picketing of the largest corporations, about 170 vegetable growers who stubbornly refused to switch from the Teamsters to the UFW. This led Chávez to call for a general strike.

During this struggle with the Teamsters, César led the union to fight against a farm labor law passed by the Arizona legislature and signed by the Governor. It outlawed the boycott and limited strikes much as had been advocated by Nixon's administration. To raise people's awareness of the necessity to repeal the law and recall the Governor who had signed it, César began a fast in June of 1972. For 24 days César fasted and directed the recall campaign from a small room in Saint Rita's Center in a Mexican barrio of Phoenix. Afterwards he commented on the lessons to be learned:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

El Macriado photo by Ben Gazzara

United Farm Worker convention.

"It is possible to become discouraged about the injustice we see everywhere. But God did not promise us that the world would be humane and just. He gives us the gift of life and allows us to choose the way we will use our limited time on this earth. It is an awesome opportunity. We should be thankful for the life we have been given, thankful for the opportunity to do something about the suffering of our fellow man. ... In giving yourself you will discover a whole new life full of meaning."[29]

That Fall the California growers began to try to destroy the UFW by sponsoring Proposition 22, an initiative that would outlaw boycotting and limit secret ballot elections to full time non-seasonal employees. Chávez followed the same strategy he had followed in Arizona of getting citizens

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

registered to vote as well as informing them about Proposition 22's threat to workers. During Fall, the "No on 22" campaign gathered momentum through the use of human billboards. On November 7, 1972, Proposition 22 was soundly defeated by a margin of 58 percent. The UFW had used the boycott organization to mobilize political support. In this election, they proved that they were a serious political force.

Meanwhile the lettuce boycott and struggle with the Teamsters continued. On April 15, 1973, grape growers in the San Joaquin Valley announced that they had signed contracts with the Teamsters. César immediately called for a strike and pulled most of the UFW workers from the fields. The Teamsters recruited goons and soon violence exploded, with two union members killed. Finally, on September 1st, César decided to call off the strike and resume the boycott, which now included Gallo Winery that had signed a contract with the Teamsters. The decision to abandon the strike was motivated in part by his desire to avoid future violence, but also because he felt very deeply that the boycott would be more effective than a strike. The Teamsters finally gave up their campaign to organize field workers and take over UFW contracts in late 1974. Nevertheless, the grape and vegetable growers had contracts in place that were not set to expire for several years. Until their expiration, César had to decide on a strategy to keep his union together. He told his followers again and again of the moral values that he believed. He said

> **"There are a few basic principles that I try to follow. Don't lie! And work hard! You can compromise on many things but not in your principles. You have to stay true to yourself. There are special guides that God gives you and you cannot trade them off. That's a sin; then you reap what you sow. You have to use these gifts in life or you miss everything."**[29]

The Women of the Union and César Chávez

Women have always played an important, if unrecognized, role in the difficult, dangerous, and laborious struggle to organize farm labor unions. During the 1930s, Luisa Moreno worked with packing-house women and field laborers for the United Packing and Agricultural Workers of America (UCPAWA) in California. When Ernesto Galarza sought to organize the National Farm Labor Union (NFLU) in the 1940s and early 1950s, he relied a good deal on the wives of farm workers for support during the long strikes. And when César Chávez set about organizing the United Farm Workers in the early 1960s, his wife, Helen, was in charge of the credit union and finances and Dolores Huerta became the Vice President in charge of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

negotiating contracts. Despite the generally male-dominated culture of agriculture, women within the UFW were essential for its early successes. Helen F. Chávez, César's wife, was one of the key individuals behind his success. She gave him the encouragement to pursue his dream of organizing the farm workers despite having to give up the securities of a regular paycheck to support his family. She supported his quitting his job as Director of the CSO and in turning down good paying, salaried jobs with the Government. In the early years of the union, she went to work in the fields to supplement the family income while César was organizing farm workers. She quietly took care of the eight children and volunteered to be the Treasurer for the union's credit union. She was a traditional Mexican mother, self-sacrificing for her family and husband, choosing to avoid the public life. She joined the picket lines numerous times, and once was arrested and jailed. She was a courageous woman who said, "We never get discouraged. I guess as the years go by we get stronger. Then you want to fight extra hard."[31] She never posed for photographs or gave speeches and has never given a formal interview. On one rare occasion, speaking with a reporter at a farm worker fiesta she said, "I want to see justice for the farm workers. I was a farm worker and I know what it is like to work in the fields."[32]

Another important woman, close to César was Dolores Huerta, Vice President of the union who shared a family with César's brother and lived with her children at La Paz. For more than 30 years, César Chávez relied on Dolores Huerta as a confidant, adviser, and negotiator. Dolores was co-founder of the Farm Workers Association and worked as a lobbyist for the union in Washington and Sacramento. She had a strong character and was a non-traditional Mexicana, yet a loyal follower after having expressed her views. As she said, "César and I have a lot of personal fights, usually over strategy or personalities. I don't think César himself understands why he fights with me."[33]

Because of her independence, strong personality, and total dedication to the UFW, Dolores made many personal sacrifices as she raised 11 children by herself despite her union activity. Reflecting on her non-traditional domestic life she recalled:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For Educational Use Only

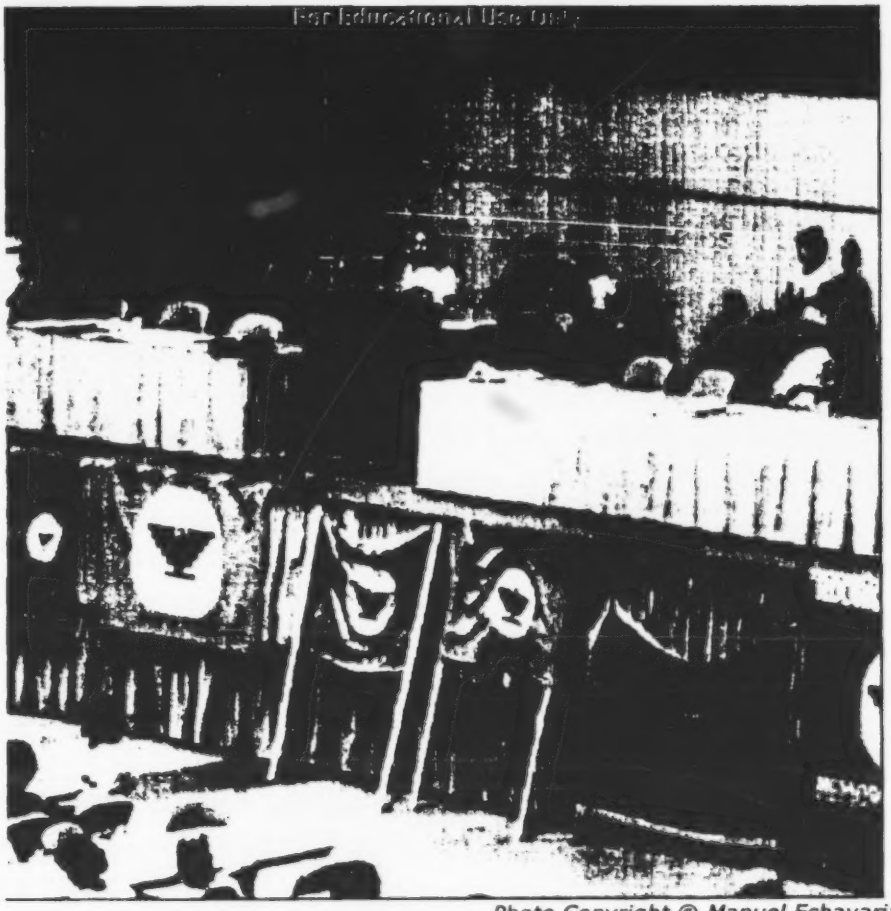


Photo Copyright © Manuel Echavaria

Dolores Huerta speaking at political convention.

"My mother raised me and was a dominant figure in my early years. At home, we all shared equally in the household tasks. I never had to cook for my brothers or do their clothes like many traditional Mexican families. I was raised with two brothers and a mother, so there was no sexism. My mother was a strong woman and she did not favor my brothers. There was no idea that men were superior. I was also raised in Stockton, in an integrated neighborhood. There were Chinese, Latinos, Native Americans, Blacks, Japanese, Italians, and others. We were all rather poor, but it was an integrated community so it was not racist for me in my childhood." [41]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Huerta's egalitarianism and sense of justice interacted with and influenced César. In the CSO, Dolores sent long letters to César giving him detailed accounts of her organizing activities. She gave up her paid position with the CSO to work with César in founding the FWA in Delano.

There she stated, ""I like to organize. ... My duties are policy making like [those of] César Chávez. It is the creative part of the organization. I am in charge of political and legislative activity. Much of my work is in public relations."

Like César, she has been a public speaker, spreading the message of struggle for human justice. She recognized her key role. She said, "I know that the history of our union would have been quite different had it not been for my involvement. So I am trying to get more of our women to hang in there. The energy of women is important."

Her accomplishments are many. She negotiated the first UFW contract in 1966 with the Schenley Wine Company. She oversaw the setting up of union hiring halls and helped administer union contracts once they were signed. Dolores directed the UFW's national grape boycott and helped organize picket lines and boycotts in the 1970s. Dolores Huerta helped establish the Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan, the Juan De La Cruz Farm Worker Pension Fund, the Farm Workers Credit Union, the first medical and pension plan, and the credit union for farm workers.

Many other women have worked with César and the union over the years, and each of them has had an influence on his life. One of the many women organizers within the UFW whose contributions have yet to be recognized is Artemisa Torres Guerrero. Known as "Artie" to her co-workers, she was a key person behind the scenes helping the UFW and César Chávez achieve victory in the fields during the 1970s. César Chávez called Artie a "grandmother to the farm workers" because she volunteered all that she had to help with the boycott and strike activities in the Los Angeles area, despite her failing health. During the 1970s, when Chávez arrived in the Los Angeles where she lived, he made it a point to confide in her. He discussed with her his recent activities and found out what she thought of them. Gradually by the 1980s, Artie had become Chávez's confidant. She called him *Chaperito* [Shorty] and he called her "*Abuelo*" [Grandmother].

Other women in the UFW became part of César's life. Mary Sanchez, Linda Legrette, Terry Vasquez Scott, and other women worked with César helping organize the complex daily life of the union. Nuns like Sister Beth Wood and Sister Betty Wolcott worked in many capacities as volunteers. Others were given tremendous responsibility and taught valuable lessons, such as

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Elizabeth Hernandez who reflected on César's influence on her life: "He made me feel proud that I had attempted to work out all the problems by myself. He gave me confidence that I could do anything I set my mind to do. He gave me trust and honesty and self respect. These are the traits that I admired in him."

The California Farm Labor Act

In 1975, the UFW was involved in new struggles with grape growers. César E. Chávez and others organized a boycott against Gallo wines because they had signed a "sweetheart" contract, an agreement that favored the grower over the farm workers, with the Teamsters union. On February 22, César organized a 110-mile march from San Francisco to Modesto, home of the Gallo Wineries. More than 15,000 supporters ended the march a week later. The tremendous turnout proved again that the UFW had great popular support.

The message was not lost on the newly elected Governor of California, Governor Brown, a son of the former Governor, whom some considered almost an anti-politician--a perfect type to be successful in the post-Watergate era. Jerry Brown had supported the farm workers' cause and even marched with them in the Coachella Valley. As California's Secretary of State in 1972, he had helped the UFW challenge Proposition 22. His election to the Governorship in November 1974 signaled a new opportunity for the UFW.

Late in 1974, César began to think that a state agricultural law might help reverse the decline of the union's strength, but only if the law had certain provisions. First, it had to allow for boycotts. Second, it had to allow seasonal workers to vote in elections (under previously proposed legislation, including the Arizona law, only permanent workers were allowed to vote). Third, a UFW-supported farm labor law had to allow for legitimate strikes. Initially, the growers opposed all of these conditions for a farm labor law, but by 1975 after the years of strikes, jurisdictional violence, and boycotts, they were willing to concede these points.

After considerable political maneuvering, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act was passed in May 1975, the first such law in the continental United States governing farm labor organizing (farm workers in Hawaii had a similar law). The law gave the UFW what it wanted, secret ballot elections, the right to boycott, voting rights for migrant seasonal workers, and control over the timing of elections. The growers, for their part, were convinced that the law would end boycotts and labor disruptions that had cost them millions of dollars in profits.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The struggle with the Teamsters for representation of farm workers continued under the supervision of the state agency. Governor Brown continued to support Chávez and the UFW by appointing a pro-UFW majority to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, the body that was to oversee the elections and rule on the complaints. A big controversy arose over the access rules for union. Chávez wanted the UFW to have the unlimited right to enter ranches and farms to talk to workers about the union, while the growers wanted total control over access, giving preference to the Teamsters.

Another problem was funding. The ALRB ran out of money for its daily operation at the beginning of 1976 and suspended operations for five months until the Legislature could vote for a regular appropriation. The Legislature lacked the necessary majority to pass an emergency appropriation, so the ALRB stopped reviewing and certifying elections.

César decided to attack the issues of funding and access by appealing to the voters. In a massive initiative campaign, the UFW sent its workers out and gathered more than 700,000 signatures in only 29 days. The initiative known as Proposition 14 was to be voted on in November. The UFW-sponsored initiative provided for guaranteed funding for the Agricultural Labor Board as well as assuring union organizers access to workers. Because of an advertising campaign funded by oil companies and agricultural corporations, Proposition 14 lost by a two to one margin. The public seemed to have been convinced that the funding of the Farm Labor Board was already a moot point and that the access provision was a threat to property rights.

Strengths and Weaknesses: Mixed Results

Some regarded the defeat of Proposition 14 in 1976 a turning point in Chávez's ability to mobilize the public support for the farm workers and their union. The promise of the ALRB as a means of helping organize farm workers rapidly disappeared. The Farm Labor Board was increasingly controlled by Republican, pro-grower interests who consistently ruled against the many grievances that were brought before it by the union.

There were some victories. One was the result of years of lobbying and complex legal maneuvers, the abolition of *el cortito*, or the short handled hoe, in 1975. For decades, the growers had required field workers to use this tool that forced the workers to bend over and work for hours on end. Thousands of farm workers permanently damaged their backs and spent the rest of the lives in disabling pain. Chávez and the UFW had opposed the use of *el cortito* because of its damaging effect on the worker's health. Together

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

with attorneys for California Rural Legal Aid (CRLA) they won its abolition.

In terms of union building, the period following the passage of the California Farm Labor Act was one of growth in membership and contracts. The UFW had won almost two thirds of the elections after 1975 and, in March of 1977 the Teamsters admitted they were beaten and that they would not contest future elections. The dues paying membership of the UFW soared to more than 100,000 by 1978.

It would seem that the union had reached a degree of organizational success. But there were troubling signs that all was not well. A number of long time staff members quit the union, some expressing their unhappiness with César's leadership, and others admitted to being burned out by the long hours at almost no pay. In March 1979, Jerry Cohen, the UFW's chief attorney, left after the Executive Board defeated his proposal to allow his staff to be paid salaries rather than in-kind benefits. A few months later, Marshall Ganz, who helped organize the lettuce strike, and Jim Drake, another long-term organizer, left the union, along with a number of other union leaders from the Salinas area, over a dispute having to do with the union policy. The newspaper and journal reactions to these resignations were to magnify them as signaling the end of the Chávez-led union.

César had decided to reorganize the union, and some left because they disagreed with his strategies. In late 1975, he called for a conference to discuss ideas for modernizing the union and invited several management consultants to La Paz for staff training sessions. As part of the modernization drive, they began computerizing all the union records and purchased a microwave communications system so that they would not be dependent on the public telephones.

Despite these measures, there were indications that the UFW lost momentum. In 1984, only 15 of the 70 grape growers in the Delano area were under a UFW contract. The Union was winning fewer and fewer elections; in 1976 they had won 276 but in the years since they had won only 56. Union membership dropped to less than 12,000 active members. There were fewer and fewer strikes and the UFW cut down on the number of organizers in the fields hoping to encourage local leadership and initiative.

The reason for the decline, César felt, was that the Farm Labor Board was firmly in the hands of the grower interests. The Board now was used to stifle unionization. The ALRB took on the average of 348 days to settle disputes over contested elections and about half as long to render a decision whether or not to litigate an unfair labor practice. As of 1984, the ALRB had not

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

rendered any award for violation of the labor law.

As a result of the stalemate promoted by the ALRB, César came to the conclusion that the only tactic left was to boycott in order to force the growers to sign contracts. So on June 12, 1984 César announced that the union would embark on a new grape boycott. The UFW had sponsored more than 50 boycotts over the years and the public was confused as to what was and wasn't still being boycotted. There remained a tremendous educational campaign for the union to undertake.

The Wrath of Grapes

For the next few years, Chávez targeted the environmental concerns of the Nation's middle class. The UFW produced a movie entitled "The Wrath of Grapes" in which graphic footage showed the birth defects and high rates of cancer that pesticide poisoning produced among farm workers and consumers. In 1987 and again in 1988, César traveled to the midwestern and eastern cities where grape consumption was viewed as a luxury item and where union support had always been the strongest.

From the beginning of the UFW, César had insisted that the union try to control and ban the use of pesticides to protect workers as well as consumers. The first grape contracts in 1967 included provisions prohibiting the use of DDT, a highly toxic chemical. This was before the federal government's ban on its use. César had always included the banning of harmful pesticides as a union issue. In 1969, he marched with protesters in front of the Pure Food and Drug Administration to lobby for increased federal control of dangerous farm chemicals. When asked if he could compromise on the pesticide issue he said, "Hell, no! Pesticides, for me, is the single most important issue. If we don't deal with that, higher wages isn't going to make it for us. No way." But despite the efforts to make the public aware of the health dangers, pesticide usage increased. In the 1980s, farmers used more than 2.6 million tons of agricultural chemicals per year and more than 300,000 farm workers and their families suffered from major health problems.

Finally, César decided to protest against the indiscriminate use of pesticides by beginning a fast on midnight July 16, 1988. The fast went largely unnoticed by the public until the children of Robert Kennedy visited César in La Paz to lend their support. Finally on Sunday August 22, César gave up his water-only fast. As an expression of support, Jesse Jackson, a Presidential candidate, and actors Martin Sheen and Robert Blake vowed to continue the fast for three days to keep alive the "chain of suffering." Thereafter, for several months individuals joined three-day mini-fasts to demonstrate their

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

support for the union.

During the 36-day fast, César issued a statement that summarized his commitment to the union and the boycott:

Photo Courtesy of César E. Chávez Foundation

Reverend Jesse Jackson assists César during a fast.

" As I look back at this past year, I can see many events that precipitated the fast, including the terrible suffering of farm workers and their children, the crushing of farm worker rights, the denial of fair and free elections and the death of good-faith bargaining in California agriculture. All of these events are connected with the great cause of justice for farm worker families."[40]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In the 1990s, Chávez had the same qualities of character that had brought about victory in the earlier boycott. Most of all he was tenacious in his leadership, despite an apparent change in the activist mood of the Country. He believed that the modern boycott could be won with an alliance among Latinos, Blacks, and other minorities, plus allies in labor and the Church. He also had faith that, for the generation of activists from the 60s and 70s, the boycott would become a social habit.

He continued to try to educate the public about the harmful effects of pesticides. At a speech honoring Martin Luther King given in 1990, he said that the boycott by Dr. King had shown him the way: "I have seen many boycotts succeed. Dr. King showed us the way with the bus boycott, and with our first boycott we were able to get DDT, Aldrin, and Dieldrin banned in our first contracts with grape growers. Now, even more urgently, we are trying to get deadly pesticides banned."

César's moral qualities kept him dedicated to the same struggle that many others had left. He commented, "What keeps me going? Well, its like a fire—a consuming, nagging everyday and every-moment demand of my soul to just do it. It's difficult to explain. I like to think that it's the Good Spirit asking me to do it. I hope so. If you really want something, you have to sacrifice."

In 1991, statistics of grape consumption seemed to support Chávez's dedication to the boycott as a tactic. During the crucial period May to August 1990, grapes delivered for sale declined in 12 major cities. In New York City, grape consumption was down 74 percent; it declined by 37 percent in Los Angeles and 36 percent in San Francisco. The UFW could cite official statistics showing that the growers were selling grapes at a loss.

A Legacy of Service

Chávez was confident about the ultimate success of the UFW struggle and remained so until his unexpected death in Yuma, Arizona on April 23, 1993. He had been coordinating the boycott and fighting legal battles against the growers, traveling to raise money, and fasting for spiritual enlightenment. The tremendous outpouring of condolences and support that followed his death was a testimony to his importance as a leader who touched the conscience of America. César E. Chávez's crusade had been part of a worldwide commitment to human and civil rights, inspired by ideas and issues arising from the age in which he lived. He was correctly identified as a civil rights leader as much as a labor leader. More than 30,000 people followed his casket for three miles from downtown Delano to the union's old headquarters at The Forty Acres. Expressions of regret for his passing came

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

from around the world, from international political, labor, and spiritual leaders as well as from thousands of the poor migrant farm workers to whom he had dedicated his life.

Photo Copyright © Jocelyn Sherman

The pine casket of César Chávez being carried during the funeral procession.

César Chávez's most lasting significance as a leader of the farm worker's movement is that he made millions aware of the plight of Mexican Americans and enlarged the Nation's conscience. For millions of Latinos, Chávez's struggle was an inspiration for their own. In his words:

> **"The UFW's existence signaled to all Latinos that we are fighting for our dignity, challenging and overcoming injustice, and empowering the least educated and poorest among us. The message was clear. If it could happen in the fields, it could happen anywhere—in cities, in the courts, in the city councils, and in the State Legislatures... Once social change begins, it cannot be reversed. You cannot uneducate the person who has learned how to read. You cannot humiliate the person who feels pride. You cannot oppress the people who are not afraid anymore."**[43]

César Estrada Chávez was more than an inspiring leader for Chicanos and Latinos. He was an integral part of the U.S. civil rights movement. He personally knew and communicated with the most influential leaders of the civil rights movement, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. His belief in nonviolence within the farm workers' movement echoed the civil rights struggle in the South. In fighting for labor rights, he always was aware that he was expanding the rights of all working men and women. He was more than a labor leader because he brought a deep sense of spiritual commitment to the struggle for human rights. His favorite passage in the Bible was the Beatitudes in Matthew's gospel. As he said:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

"We're doing Christ's work on earth; and we're reminded ever so much in the Beatitudes of what it is he wanted us to do; the thing about loving him and loving our neighbor. We're called on to be peacemakers at times, at times we're called to suffer persecution because of justice's sake, at times we deal with those who are poor in spirit, the meek, those who mourn, and especially those who hunger and thirst for justice. at times we have to be merciful as we do our work, and also we see in our work those who are clean of heart." [44]

Chávez's strengths were based on his moral principles: self-sacrifice, nonviolence, respect for all life, a belief God and the importance of the spirituality, and a deep faith in the ultimate triumph of the just cause of the poor. He embodied the struggles of all people to achieve a better life. He will always be remembered for his humility and total dedication to the cause of social and economic justice.

Photo Copyright © Jocelyn Sherman

César E. Chávez with a young child.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bibliography

[1]. César E. Chávez, "Prayer of the Farm Worker's Struggle/ Oración del campesino en la lucha," (Keane, Ca.: UFW, n.d.) Bilingual flyer quoted in Dalton, pg. 322.

[2]. The quote is from Luis Valdez. See Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, The Fight in the Fields: César Chávez and the Farmworkers Movement (New York, London, San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1997), pg.113 from Matthiessen, Sal Si Puedes, pg. 148.

[3].Ferriss and Sandoval, pg. 14.

[4]. Jacques E. Levy, César Chávez: Autobiography of La Causa (New York: W.W. Norton and Co. Inc.), pg. 18.

[5]. Mary Hynes, "César Chávez: Realistic not Bitter, from Battles," Our Sunday Visitor 77, no. 19 (September 1988), pg. 20 quoted in Frederick John Dalton, "The Moral Vision of César E. Chávez: An Examination of his Public Life from and Ethical Perspective," (Ph.D. Diss. Graduate Theological Union, 1998), pg. 353.

[6]. Levy, pg. 24.

[7]. Levy, pg. 42.

[8].Ferriss and Sandoval, pg. 26 from Department of Labor Bulletin NO. 836 (1945).

[9].Levy, pg. 74.

[10].Ferris and Sandoval, pg. 30 in Peter Matthissen, Sal Si Puedes, pp. 223-224.

[11].Ibid., pg. 31 in Levy, pp. 81-2.

[12].Ibid., pg. 33 in Levy, pg. 84.

[13]. Levy, pg. 98; Ferris and Sandoval, pg. 39.

[14]. Levy, pg. 102.

[15]. Levy, pg. 112.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

[16]. Levy, pg.148.

[17]. Ibid., pg. 184.

[18]. Matthissen, pg. 143 quoted in Dalton, pg. 278.

[19]. César Chávez, "César Chávez: Farm Union is Alive, Well," Los Angeles Times, 2 January 1975, 7(II) quoted in Dalton, pg. 222.

[20]. Gerland Barr, "César Chávez: Apostle of Non-Violence," Observer (May 1970), in Winthrop Yinger, César Chávez: The Rhetoric of Nonviolence (Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1975), pg.76.

[21]. Levy, pg. 184.

[22]. Levy, pg. 207

[23]. Levy, pg. 273.

[24]. César E. Chávez Institute for Public Policy, Web site: www,sfu.edu/~cecipp/César_Chávez/Césarmlk.htm, pg. 2.

[25]. El Malcriado, April 15, 1968 quoted in Yinger, pp. 49-50.

[26]. Ibid., pg. 285.

[27]. Ibid., pg. 286.

[28]. César Chávez, "We should be Thankful for the Opportunity to Do Something about the Suffering of Our Fellow Man," El Malcriado 5, no. 4 (23 June 1972), pg. 8 quoted in Dalton, pg. 219.

[29]. Eugene Kennedy, "The Powerful Innocent," The Critic 31, no. 6 (July-August 1973), pg. 20 quoted in Dalton, pg.234.

[30] See Barbara L. Baer and Glenna Metthews, ""The Women of the Boycott," The Nation, Vol. 218 (February 23, 1974): pp. 232-238; also Chapter 3 in Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard Garcia's, César Chávez: A Triumph of the Spirit (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995). See also Margaret Eleanor Rose, "Women in the United Farm Workers: A Study of Chicana and Mexicana Participation in a Labor Union," (Ph.D. Diss., UCLA, History, 1988) and Barbara Jeane Cram, "Women Organizers in the United Farm Workers: Their Motivation and Perceptions of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Sexism Within the Union," (Master's Thesis, CSU Fullerton, Woman's Studies, 1981).

[31]. Los Angeles Times, February 22, 1976.

[32]. Ibid.

[33]. Richard Griswold del Castillo and Richard Garcia, César Chávez: a Triumph of Spirit (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), pg. 60.

[34]. Ibid., pp. 62, 64.

[35]. Ibid., pg. 69.

[36]. Ibid., pg. 71.

[37]. John Hurst, "Violence in the Autumn of Life," Los Angeles Times, October 24, 1994, pg. B 3.

[38]. Ann McGregor, comp. Remembering César: The Legacy of César Chávez (Clovis, Ca.: Quill Driver Books, 2000), pg. 71.

[39]. San Diego Union-Tribune, May 26, 1987.

[40]. Los Angeles Times, August 23, 1988.

[41]. César E. Chávez Institute for Public Policy Web site, pg. 4.

[42]. Hynes, pg. 20 in Dalton, pg. 353.

[43]. César Chávez, "Farm Workers at Risk," in Toxic Struggles: The Theory and Practice of Environmental Justice, ed. Richard Hofrichter (Philadelphia, P.A.: New Society Publishers, 1993), 169-170 quoted in Dalton, pg. 284.

[44]. "Love Thy Neighbor," U.S. Catholic 50, no. 10 (October 1985), pg. 38 quoted in Dalton, pg. 354.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix A

"No Easy Walk to Freedom"

Presidential Address by Nelson R. Mandela to the ANC (Transvaal) Congress

September 21, 1953

Since 1912 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust. Today the entire country knows that their labours were not in vain for a new spirit and new ideas have gripped our people. Today the people speak the language of action: there is a mighty awakening among the men and women of our country and the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness.

In June 1952, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the Campaign for the Defiance of the Unjust Laws. Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26 and with only thirty-three defiers in action and then in Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one hundred and six defiers, it spread throughout the country like wild fire. Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations. **At the end of the year, more than 8,000 people of all races had defied. The Campaign called for immediate and heavy sacrifices. Workers lost their jobs, chiefs and teachers were expelled from the service, doctors, lawyers and businessmen gave up their practices and businesses and elected to go to jail. Defiance was a step of great political significance. It released strong social forces, which affected thousands of our countrymen. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function politically; a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government. It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability and security of the State. It inspired and aroused our people from a conquered and servile community of yesmen to a militant and uncompromising band of comrades-in-arms. The entire country was transformed into battle zones where the forces of liberation were locked up in immortal conflict against those of reaction and evil. Our flag flew in**

every battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around it. We held the initiative and the forces of freedom were advancing on all fronts. It was against this background and at the height of this Campaign that we held our last annual provincial Conference in Pretoria from the 10th to the 12th of October last year. In a way, that Conference was a welcome reception for those who had returned from the battlefields and a farewell to those who were still going to action. The spirit of defiance and action dominated the entire conference.

Today we meet under totally different conditions. By the end of July last year, the Campaign had reached a stage where it had to be suppressed by the Government or it would impose its own policies on the country.

The government launched its reactionary offensive and struck at us. Between July last year and August this year forty-seven leading members from both Congresses in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentences ranging from three months to two years on condition that they did not again participate in the defiance of the unjust laws. In November last year, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meetings of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to defy. Contravention of this proclamation carried a penalty of three years or of a fine of three hundred pounds. In March this year the Government passed the so-called Public Safety Act which empowered it to declare a state of emergency and to create conditions which would permit of the most ruthless and pitiless methods of suppressing our movement. Almost simultaneously, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act was passed which provided heavy penalties for those convicted of Defiance offences. This Act also made provision for the whipping of defiers including women. It was under this Act that Mr. Arthur Matlala who was the local [leader] of the Central Branch during the Defiance Campaign, was convicted and sentenced to twelve months with hard labour plus eight strokes by the Magistrate of Villa Nora. The Government also made extensive use of the Suppression of Communism Act. You will remember that in May last year the Government ordered Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J. B. Marks, David Bopape and Johnson Ngwevela to resign from the Congresses and many other organisations and were also prohibited from attending political gatherings. In consequence of these bans, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks, and David Bopape did not attend our last provincial Conference. In December last year, the Secretary General, Mr. W. M. Sisulu, and I were banned from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months. Early this year, the President-General, Chief Luthuli, whilst in the midst of a national tour which he was prosecuting with remarkable energy and devotion, was prohibited for a period of twelve months from attending public gatherings and from visiting Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and many other centres. A few days before the President-General was banned, the President of the SAIC, Dr. G. M. Naicker, had been served with a similar notice. Many other active workers both

from the African and Indian Congresses and from trade union organisations were also banned.

The Congresses realised that these measures created a new situation, which did not prevail when the Campaign was launched in June 1952. The tide of defiance was bound to recede and we were forced to pause and to take stock of the new situation. We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle. A political movement must keep in touch with reality and the prevailing conditions. Long speeches, the shaking of fists, the banging of tables and strongly worded resolutions out of touch with the objective conditions do not bring about mass action and can do a great deal of harm to the organisation and the struggle we serve. The masses had to be prepared and made ready for new forms of political struggle. We had to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy. To have gone ahead blindly as if nothing had happened would have been suicidal and stupid. The conditions under which we meet today are, therefore, vastly different. The Defiance Campaign together with its thrills and adventures has receded. The old methods of bringing about mass action through public mass meetings, press statements and leaflets calling upon the people to go to action have become extremely dangerous and difficult to use effectively. The authorities will not easily permit a meeting called under the auspices of the ANC, few newspapers will publish statements openly criticising the policies of the Government and there is hardly a single printing press which will agree to print leaflets calling upon workers to embark on industrial action for fear of prosecution under the Suppression of Communism Act and similar measures. These developments require the evolution of new forms of political struggle, which will make it reasonable for us to strive for action on a higher level than the Defiance Campaign. The Government, alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the people from the organisations. According to a statement made by Swart in Parliament on the 1 8th September, 1953, there are thirty-three trade union officials and eighty-nine other people who have been served with notices in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. This does not include that formidable array of freedom fighters who have been named and blacklisted under the Suppression of Communism Act and those who have been banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Meanwhile the living conditions of the people, already extremely difficult, are steadily worsening and becoming unbearable. The purchasing power of the masses is progressively declining and the cost of living is rocketing. Bread is now dearer than it was two months ago. The cost of milk, meat and vegetables is beyond the pockets of the average family and many of our people cannot afford them. The people are too poor to have enough food to feed their families and children. They cannot afford sufficient clothing, housing and medical care.

They are denied the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age and where these exist; they are of an extremely inferior and useless nature. Because of lack of proper medical amenities our people are ravaged by such dreaded diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, pellagra, and infantile mortality is very high. The recent state budget made provision for the increase of the cost-of-living allowances for Europeans and not a word was said about the poorest and most hard-hit section of the population - the African people. The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation in the country have definitely scared away foreign capital from South Africa and the financial crisis through which the country is now passing is forcing many industrial and business concerns to close down, to retrench their staffs and unemployment is growing every day. **The farm labourers are in a particularly dire plight. You will perhaps recall the investigations and exposures of the semi-slave conditions on the Bethal farms made in 1948 by the Reverend Michael Scott and a *Guardian* Correspondent; by the *Drum* last year and the *Advance* in April this year. You will recall how human beings, wearing only sacks with holes for their heads and arms, never given enough food to eat, slept on cement floors on cold nights with only their sacks to cover their shivering bodies. You will remember how they are woken up as early as 4 a. m. and taken to work on the fields with the indunas sjambokking those who tried to straighten their backs, who felt weak and dropped down because of hunger and sheer exhaustion. You will also recall the story of human beings toiling pathetically from the early hours of the morning till sunset, fed only on mealie meal served on filthy sacks spread on the ground and eating with their dirty hands. People falling ill and never once being given medical attention. You will also recall the revolting story of a farmer who was convicted for tying a labourer by his feet from a tree and had him flogged to death, pouring boiling water into his mouth whenever he cried for water. These things which have long vanished from many parts of the world still flourish in SA today.** None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices.

The Government has introduced in Parliament the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and the Bantu Education Bill. Speaking on the Labour Bill, the Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman, openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death. By forbidding strikes and lockouts it deprives Africans of the one weapon the workers have to improve their position. The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions which are controlled by the workers themselves and which fight for the improvement of their working conditions in return for a Central Native Labour Board controlled by the Government and which will be used to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African worker. The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, has also been brutally clear in explaining the objects of the Bantu Education Bill. According to him the aim of this law is to teach our children that

Africans are inferior to Europeans. African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white. When this Bill becomes law, it will not be the parents but the Department of Native Affairs, which will decide whether an African child should receive higher or other education. It might well be that the children of those who criticise the Government and who fight its policies will almost certainly be taught how to drill rocks in the mines and how to plough potatoes on the farms of Bethal. High education might well be the privilege of those children whose families have a tradition of collaboration with the ruling circles.

The attitude of the Congress on these bills is very clear and unequivocal. Congress totally rejects both bills without reservation. The last provincial Conference strongly condemned the then proposed Labour Bill as a measure designed to rob the African workers of the universal right of free trade unionism and to undermine and destroy the existing African trade unions. **Conference further called upon the African workers to boycott and defy the application of this sinister scheme, which was calculated to further the exploitation of the African worker. To accept a measure of this nature even in a qualified manner would be a betrayal of the toiling masses. At a time when every genuine Congressite should fight unreservedly for the recognition of African trade unions and the realisation of the principle that everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests, we declare our firm belief in the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that everyone has the right to education;** that education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among the nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. That parents have the right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying policy of the supremacy of the white men. The attitude of the government to us is that: "Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet. We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy."

But there is nothing inherently superior about the Herrenvolk idea of the supremacy of the whites. In China, India, Indonesia and Korea, American, British, Dutch and French Imperialism, based on the concept of the supremacy of Europeans over Asians, has been completely and perfectly exploded. In Malaya and Indo-China British and French imperialisms are being shaken to their foundations by powerful and revolutionary national liberation movements. In Africa, there are approximately 190,000,000 Africans as against 4,000,000 Europeans. The entire continent is seething with discontent and already there

are powerful revolutionary eruptions in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia, Kenya, the Rhodesias and South Africa. The oppressed people and the oppressors are at loggerheads. **The *day of reckoning* between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off. I have not the slightest doubt that when that day comes truth and justice will prevail.**

The intensification of repressions and the extensive use of the bans is designed to immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement. But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet. The racial policies of the Government have pricked the conscience of all men of good will and have aroused their deepest indignation. The feelings of the oppressed people have never been more bitter. If the ruling circles seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country.

But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day. The ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened. This is a development of the highest importance because in a country such as ours a political organisation that does not receive the support of the workers is in fact paralysed on the very ground on which it has chosen to wage battle. Leaders of trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the ANC In the past we talked of the African, Indian and Coloured struggles. Though certain individuals raised the question of a united front of all the oppressed groups, the various non-European organisations stood miles apart from one another and the efforts of those for co-ordination and unity were like a voice crying in the wilderness and it seemed that the day would never dawn when the oppressed people would stand and fight together shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Today we talk of the struggle of the oppressed people which, though it is waged through their respective autonomous organisations, is gravitating towards one central command.

Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories, to preserve our organisations and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important task the National Executive of the ANC in consultation with the National Action Committee of the ANC and the SAIC formulated a plan of action popularly known as the "M" Plan and the highest importance is [given] to it by the National Executives. Instructions were given to all provinces to implement the "M" Plan without delay.

The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars. The aim is:

1. to consolidate the Congress machinery;
2. to enable the transmission of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings, issuing press statements and printing circulars;
3. to build up in the local branches themselves local Congresses which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people;
4. to extend and strengthen the ties between Congress and the people and to consolidate Congress leadership.

This plan is being implemented in many branches not only in the Transvaal but also in the other provinces and is producing excellent results. The Regional Conferences held in Sophiatown, Germiston, Kliptown and Benoni on the 28th June, 23rd and 30th August and on the 6th September 1953, which were attended by large crowds, are a striking demonstration of the effectiveness of this plan, and the National Executives must be complimented for it. I appeal to all members of the Congress to redouble their efforts and play their part truly and well in its implementation. The hard, dirty and strenuous task of recruiting members and strengthening our organisation through a house-to-house campaign in every locality must be done by you all. From now on the activity of Congressites must not be confined to speeches and resolutions. Their activities must find expression in wide scale work among the masses, work which will enable them to make the greatest possible contact with the working people. You must protect and defend your trade unions. If you are not allowed to have your meetings publicly, then you must hold them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you travel home. You must have them in your villages and shantytowns. You must make every home, every shack and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement and never surrender.

You must defend the right of African parents to decide the kind of education that shall be given to their children. Teach the children that Africans are not one iota inferior to Europeans. Establish your own community schools where the right kind of education will be given to our children. If it becomes dangerous or impossible to have these alternative schools, then again you must make every home, every shack or rickety structure a centre of learning for our children. Never surrender to the inhuman and barbaric theories of Verwoerd.

The decision to defy the unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day. But, because the local branches did not exercise proper control and supervision, the admission of new members was not carried out satisfactorily. No careful examination was made of their past history and political characteristics. As a result of this, there were many shady characters

ranging from political clowns, place-seekers, splitters, saboteurs, agents-provocateurs to informers and even policemen, who infiltrated into the ranks of Congress. One need only refer to the Johannesburg trial of Dr. Moroka and nineteen others, where a member of Congress who actually worked at the National Headquarters, turned out to be a detective-sergeant on special duty. Remember the case of Leballo of Brakpan who wormed himself into that Branch by producing faked naming letters from the Liquidator, De Villiers Louw, who had instructions to spy on us. There are many other similar instances that emerged during the Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley trials. Whilst some of these men were discovered there are many who have not been found out. In Congress there are still many shady characters, political clowns, place-seekers, saboteurs, provocateurs, informers and policemen who masquerade as progressives but who are in fact the bitterest enemies of our organisation. Outside appearances are highly deceptive and we cannot classify these men by looking at their faces or by listening to their sweet tongues or their vehement speeches demanding immediate action. The friends of the people are distinguishable by the ready and disciplined manner in which they rally behind their organisation and their readiness to sacrifice when the preservation of the organisation has become a matter of life and death. Similarly, enemies and shady characters are detected by the extent to which they consistently attempt to wreck the organisation by creating fratricidal strife, disseminating confusion and undermining and even opposing important plans of action to vitalise the organisation. In this respect it is interesting to note that almost all the people who oppose the "M" Plan are people who have consistently refused to respond when sacrifices were called for, and whose political background leaves much to be desired. These shady characters by means of flattery, bribes and corruption, win the support of the weak-willed and politically backward individuals, detach them from Congress and use them in their own interests. The presence of such elements in Congress constitutes a serious threat to the struggle, for the capacity for political action of an organisation which is ravaged by such disruptive and splitting elements is considerably undermined. **Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing: it is the profound desire, the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organisation seek to impede the realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm. To do otherwise would be a crime and a serious neglect of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organisation.**

Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country. We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country and because we have

consistently fought against the policy of racial discrimination in favour of a policy which accords fundamental human rights to all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or language. We are exiled from our own people for we have uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and the cobalt bombs where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperial powers. We have been gagged because we have emphatically and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites. We are being shadowed, hounded and trailed because we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya. The massacre of the Kenya people by Britain has aroused world-wide indignation and protest. Children are being burnt alive, women are raped, tortured, whipped and boiling water poured on their breasts to force confessions from them that Jomo Kenyatta had administered the Mau Mau oath to them. Men are being castrated and shot dead. In the Kikuyu country there are some villages in which the population has been completely wiped out. We are prisoners in our own country because we dared to raise our voices against these horrible atrocities and because we expressed our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people.

You can see that "there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.

"Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men in business who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom."

Appendix B

THE MANDELA DOCUMENT

From the Document Presented by Nelson Mandela to P W Botha before their meeting on July 5, 1989

Renunciation of Violence

The position of the ANC on the question of violence is very simple. The organisation has no vested interest in violence. It abhors any action which may cause loss of life, destruction of property and misery to the people. It has worked long and patiently for a South Africa of common values and for an undivided and peaceful non-racial state. But we consider the armed struggle a legitimate form of self-defence against a morally repugnant system of government which will not allow even peaceful forms of protest. It is more than ironical that it should be the government which demands that we should renounce violence. The government knows only too well that there is not a single political organisation in this country, inside and outside parliament, which can ever compare with the ANC in its total commitment to peaceful change.

Right from the early days of its history, the organisation diligently sought peaceful solutions and, to that extent, it talked patiently to successive South African governments, a policy we tried to follow in dealing with the present government.

Apartheid Violence

Not only did the government ignore our demands for a meeting, instead it took advantage of our commitment to a non-violent struggle and unleashed the most violent form of racial oppression this country has ever seen. It stripped us of all basic human rights, outlawed our organisations and barred all channels of peaceful resistance. It met our demands with force and, despite the grave problems facing the country; it continues to refuse to talk to us. There can only be one answer to this challenge; violent forms of struggle.

Down the years oppressed people have fought for their birthright by peaceful means, where that was possible, and through force where peaceful channels were closed. The history of this country also confirms this vital lesson. Africans as well as Afrikaners were, at one time or other, compelled to take up arms in defence of their freedom against British imperialism. The fact that both were finally defeated by superior arms, and by the vast resources of that empire, does not negate this lesson.

But 'rom what has happened in South Africa during the last 40 years, we must conclude that now that the roles are reversed, and the Afrikaner is no longer a freedom fighter, but is in power, the entire lesson of history must be brushed aside. Not even a disciplined non-violent protest will now be tolerated. To the government a black man has neither a just cause to espouse nor freedom rights to defend. The whites must

have the monopoly of political power, and of committing violence against innocent and defenceless people. That situation was totally unacceptable to us and the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe was intended to end that monopoly, and to forcibly bring home to the government that the oppressed people of this country were prepared to stand up and defend themselves.

It is significant to note that throughout the past four decades, and more especially over the last 26 years, the government has met our demands with force only and has done hardly anything to create a suitable climate for dialogue. On the contrary, the government continues to govern with a heavy hand, and to incite whites against negotiation with the ANC. The publication of the booklet Talking with the ANC ... which completely distorts the history and policy of the ANC, the extremely offensive language used by government spokesmen against freedom fighters, and the intimidation of whites who want to hear the views of the ANC at first hand, are all part of the government's strategy to wreck meaningful dialogue.

[1968]

The Mexican-American and the Church

By Cesar E Chavez, Director
United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO

The place to begin is with our own experience with the Church in the strike which has gone on for thirty-one months in Delano For in Delano the Church has been involved with the poor in a unique way which should stand as a symbol to other communities Of course, when we refer to the Church we should define the word a little We mean the whole Church, the Church as an ecumenical body spread around the world, and not just its particular form in a parish in a local community The Church we are talking about is a tremendously powerful institution in our society, and in the world That Church is one form of the Presence of God on Earth, and so naturally it is powerful It is powerful by definition It is a powerful moral and spiritual force which cannot be ignored by any movement Furthermore, it is an organization with tremendous wealth Since the Church is to be servant to the poor, it is our fault if that wealth is not channeled to help the poor in our world

In a small way we have been able, in the Delano strike, to work together with the Church in such a way as to bring some of its moral and economic power to bear on those who want to maintain the status quo, keeping farm workers in virtual enslavement In brief, here is what happened in Delano

Some years ago, when some of us were working with the Community Service Organization, we began to realize the powerful effect which the Church can have on the conscience of the opposition In scattered instances, in San Jose, Sacramento, Oakland, Los Angeles and other places, priests would speak out loudly and clearly against specific instances of oppression, and in some cases, stand with the people who were being hurt Furthermore, a small group of priests, Frs McDonald, McCollough, Duggan and others, began to pinpoint attention on the terrible situation of the farm workers in our state

At about that same time, we began to run into the California Migrant Ministry in the camps and fields They were about the only ones there, and a lot of us were very suspicious,

#101

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

since we were Catholics and they were Protestants However, they had developed a very clear conception of the Church It was called to serve, to be at the mercy of the poor, and not to try to use them After a while this made a lot of sense to us, and we began to find ourselves working side by side with them In fact, it forced us to raise the question why OUR Church was not doing the same We would ask, "Why do the Protestants come out here and help the people, demand nothing, and give all their time to serving farm workers, while our own parish priests stay in their Churches, where only a few people come, and usually feel uncomfortable?"

It was not until some of us moved to Delano and began working to build the National Farm Workers Association that we really saw how far removed from the people the parish Church was In fact, we could not get any help at all from the priests of Delano When the strike began, they told us we could not even use the Church's auditorium for the meetings The farm workers' money helped build that auditorium! But the Protestants were there again, in the form of the California Migrant Ministry, and they began to help in little ways, here and there

When the strike started in 1965, most of our "friends" forsook us for a while They ran - - or were just too busy to help But the California Migrant Ministry held a meeting with its staff and decided that the strike was a matter of life or death for farm workers everywhere, and that even if it meant the end of the Migrant Ministry they would turn over their resources to the strikers The political pressure on the Protestant Churches was tremendous and the Migrant Ministry lost a lot of money But they stuck it out, and they began to point the way to the rest of the Church In fact, when 30 of the strikers were arrested for shouting Huelga, 11 ministers went to jail with them They were in Delano that day at the request of Chris Hartmire, director of the California Migrant Ministry

Then the workers began to raise the question "Why ministers? Why not priests? What does the Bishop say?" But the Bishop said nothing But slowly the pressure of the people

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

grew and grew, until finally we have in Delano a priest sent by the new Bishop, Timothy Manning, who is there to help minister to the needs of farm workers His name is Father Mark Day and he is the Union's chaplain Finally, our own Catholic Church has decided to recognize that we have our own peculiar needs, just as the growers have theirs

But outside of the local diocese, the pressure built up on growers to negotiate was tremendous Though we were not allowed to have our own priest, the power of the ecumenical body of the Church was tremendous on the Church The work of the Church, for example, in the Schenley, Di Giorgio, Perelli-Minetti strikes was fantastic They applied pressure - and they mediated

When poor people get involved in a long conflict, such as a strike, or a civil rights drive, and the pressure increases each day, there is a deep need for spiritual advice Without it we see families crumble, leadership weaken, and hard workers grow tired And in such a situation the spiritual advice must be given by a friend, not by part of the opposition Thus, what sense does it make to go to Mass on Sunday and reach out for spiritual help, and instead get sermons about the wickedness of your cause" That only drives one to question and to despair The growers in Delano have their spiritual problems we do not deny that They have every right to have priests and ministers who serve their needs BUT WE HAVE DIFFERENT NEEDS, AND SO WE NEEDED A FRIENDLY SPIRITUAL GUIDE And this is true in every community in this state where the poor face tremendous problems

But the opposition raises a tremendous howl about this They don't want us to have our spiritual advisors, friendly to our needs Why is this? Why indeed except that THERE IS TREMENDOUS SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC POWER IN THE CHURCH The rich know it, and for that reason they choose to keep it from the people

The leadership of the Mexican American Community must admit that we have fallen far short in our task of helping provide spiritual guidance for our people We may say, "I don't feel any such need I can get along " But that is a poor excuse for not helping

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

provide such help for others For we can also say, "I don't need any welfare help I can take care of my own problems " But we are all willing to fight like hell for welfare aid for those who truly need it, who would starve without it Likewise we may have gotten an education and not care about scholarship money for ourselves, or our children But we would, we should, fight like hell to see to it that our state provides aid for any child needing it so that he can get the education he desires LIKEWISE WE CAN SAY WE DON'T NEED THE CHURCH THAT IS OUR BUSINESS BUT THERE ARE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF OUR PEOPLE WHO DESPERATELY NEED SOME HELP FROM THAT POWERFUL INSTITUTION, THE CHURCH, AND WE ARE FOOLISH NOT TO HELP THEM GET IT

For example, the Catholic Charities agencies of the Catholic Church has millions of dollars earmarked for the poor But often the money is spent for food baskets for the needy instead of for effective action to eradicate the causes of poverty The men and women who administer this money sincerely want to help their brothers It should be our duty to help direct the attention to the basic needs of the Mexican-Americans in our society needs which cannot be satisfied with baskets of food, but rather with effective organizing at the grass roots level

Therefore, I am calling for the Mexican-American groups to stop ignoring this source of power It is not just our right to appeal to the Church to use its power effectively for the poor, it is our duty to do so It should be as natural as appealing to government and we do that often enough

Furthermore, we should be prepared to come to the defense of that priest, Rabbi, minister, or layman of the Church, who out of commitment to truth and justice gets into a tight place with his pastor or bishop It behooves us to stand with that man and help him see his trial through It is our duty to see to it that his rights of conscience are respected and that no bishop, pastor or other higher body takes that God given, human right away

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Finally, in a nutshell, what do we want the Church to do? We don't ask for more cathedrals We don't ask for bigger churches or fine gifts We ask for its presence with us, beside us, as Christ among us We ask the Church to sacrifice with the people for social change, for justice, and for love of brother We don't ask for words We ask for deeds We don't ask for paternalism We ask for servanthood

#101

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For Educational Use Only

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)
National Library of Education (NLE)
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

NOTICE

Reproduction Basis

[X] This document is covered by a signed "Reproduction Release (Blanket)" form (on file within the ERIC system), encompassing all or classes of documents from its source organization and, therefore, does not require a "Specific Document" Release form.

[ ] This document is Federally-funded, or carries its own permission to reproduce, or is otherwise in the public domain and, therefore, may be reproduced by ERIC without a signed Reproduction Release form (either "Specific Document" or "Blanket").